



REMARKS
ON THE
COLONIZATION
OF THE
WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA,
BY THE
FREE NEGROES
OF THE
UNITED STATES,
AND THE
CONSEQUENT CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA AND SUPPRESSION
OF THE
SLAVE TRADE.



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REMARKS ON THE COLONIZATION OF THE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA.

It is now clearly understood, and universally admitted, that the civilization of Africa and the abolition of the African Slave Trade, can be effected only by the establishment of colonies of free Blacks in suitable portions of that Continent. This is the conclusion arrived at, not only by all well informed minds in this country, but also by committees of the British House of Commons, and even by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society itself.

In 1849, a select committee of the British House of commons was appointed to continue an inquiry, undertaken by a committee appointed in the preceding year, to consider the best means which Great Britain could adopt for providing for the final extinction of the Slave Trade, and such committee, in due course, reported that a long and large experience of attempts to suppress the slave trade by a naval force, led to the conclusion, that to put down that trade by such means is impracticable. And the committee further reported, that they were constrained to believe that no modification of the system of force could effect the suppression of the slave trade ; and, that, they could not undertake the responsibility of recommending the continuance of that system. The same committee furthermore reported their opinion, that the aim of Great Britain should be to release herself from all treaty engagements in respect to the slave trade with other countries.

In pursuance of this report, Mr. Hutt moved in the House of Commons a resolution to the effect, that negotiations should be forthwith entered into, for the purpose of releasing England from all treaty engagements with foreign states for maintaining armed vessels on the Coast of Africa, to suppress the traffic in Slaves. This motion would, in all probability, have

been carried, if the Ministry had not intimated that they would in that event resign. The question, however, is only postponed ; and there is no doubt that some other mode of dealing with the slave trade will soon be resorted to by the British Government, and that the present blockade of the African coast will be abandoned, leaving only a small force to protect the colonists from the Slave-traders and the natives. This will lead to the discontinuance of the American squadron likewise ; the expense of which being thus saved, can be applied to the colonization of the western coast of Africa, by the free negroes of this country.

The proposal recently made to Congress by Judge Bryan and others, for the establishment of a line of steamships between the Atlantic ports and the Republic of Liberia, to convey free colored emigrants from the United States to that Republic, is made at a most opportune period, and deserves the most serious consideration. The proposal is to build four ships, each to be of not less than four thousand tons burthen, and to be so constructed as to be easily converted into vessels of war. The projectors are willing to build the ships at their own expence, but will require an annual appropriation from Congress for carrying the mails, and in consideration of the privilege conceded to the government, to take the ships whenever they may be required for the public service.

The following is a copy of the Memorial :

TO THE HONORABLE THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

The undersigned, for himself and others associated, respectfully begs leave to present to the consideration of Congress the following propositions, to which they have given much reflection :

First. The suppression of the African Slave Trade.

Second. The carrying of the mails between the United States and the Republic of Liberia.

Third. To extend and regulate trade between the United States and Liberia.

The Independence of the Republic of Liberia has been acknowledged by the greatest powers of Europe. It is an off-shoot from our own country, and is peopled by emigrants from all the States of this Union. It already embraces within the action of its government and laws many of the natives and several of the Kings and Princes of the west coast of Africa, who seek its protection, trust in its beneficence, and offer their allegiance as citizens.

When the Republic of Liberia shall have completed the purchase of the Gallinas, for which negotiations are now in progress, the sea-coast will embrace upwards of seven hundred miles.

The first settlement from this country was made in 1821 ; and the infant Colony, under incredible embarrassments, against the combinations and efforts of an inhuman and mercenary spirit, and the earlier and almost indomitable prejudice and hostility of native tribes, has gradually and peacefully extended its borders ; received, protected, and educated emigrants from the United States, and many of the natives ; has triumphed over all obstacles, and now presents to the world a free, vigorous and permanent commonwealth.

Its destiny may be predicted.

Its extension on that heretofore desecrated coast ; its ultimate influence over all that great division of the globe ; the suppression of the slave trade, not only within the present limits of the Republic, but shortly from Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas, and eventually from the entire coast ; the great and increasing emigration from this country to the fertile regions of the Republic ; the diffusion of knowledge and civilization, of christianity, of the arts and sciences, and of extended and heretofore unknown commerce, indicate that destiny.

Its forests, its minerals, its soil, its climate, and the already various and extensive pro-

ductions of the necessities and luxuries of life, form so many unfailing sources for our commerce.

The undersigned and his associates, looking to the preceding high public objects, and also to their private objects of pecuniary results, propose to build four steam-ships, which shall combine, in a higher degree than has yet been attained, the necessary qualities of speed, strength, space and ventilation, each of which to be commanded by a Lieutenant of the United States Navy.

Each ship shall not be of less than *four thousand tons*, and warranted to be of superior quality in all respects, to any steam-ships now afloat, or in progress of construction, for war purposes, or for the proposed service, and capable of going from New York to Liverpool in eight days.

Each ship to make not less than *four trips per annum*, leaving New Orleans, Norfolk, Baltimore, and New York, or such other ports as may be reasonably indicated by the United States.

The Government of the United States shall have the power to take any and all of said ships, when required for war purposes, by paying the cost of construction, and a commission of ten per centum, and at all times the right to place on board of each ship *two guns of heavy calibre*, and the men necessary to serve them, and also to send out on board of any of said vessels any agent or agents of the Government to Liberia, free from cost for transportation or subsistence.

The undersigned and his associates estimate the cost of such ships, as heretofore named, at nine hundred thousand dollars each, and they ask the United States to advance to them *two-thirds* of the money in five per cent. stocks, to be repaid into the Treasury, with the interest, in equal annual instalments, during the existence of the contract; which contract they propose shall continue for *twenty years*, renewable at the pleasure of the Government.

The sum of six hundred thousand dollars to be advanced in five per cent. stocks, from time to time, on each ship, as it shall progress in construction, and the Government to hold a lien upon each ship to secure the advance.

Two of said ships shall be finished and ready for sea on or before the *first day of October, 1852*, and the two others on or before the *first day of October, 1854*; so that an opportunity may be given to ascertain the efficiency of the *two* first constructed, and make such improvements as will best comply with their obligations to the Government.

Each ship shall be in readiness to convey the mails to and from Liberia, and shall provide passage and subsistence for such mail agent as the Post Office Department shall appoint.

In consideration of the above-named services, and the creation of this powerful addition to the effective marine for public and national purposes, ready whenever the emergency shall arise to require its entire employment by the government, and for affording facilities for cheap and rapid emigration to Liberia, the undersigned and his associates shall be paid the sum of dollars for each and every trip to and from Liberia during said term of contract.

In further consideration of the mutual public benefits to the citizens of both countries, they ask to be permitted to introduce into the ports of the United States the products of the Republic of Liberia free of duty: provided, that the productions of this country be admitted into Liberia in like manner.

And on the further consideration, that the American Colonization Society shall have the right and authority to send on each of said four ships, on each and every voyage they may respectively make, not exceeding four thousand emigrants, being free persons of color, from the United States to Liberia, on prepayment of ten dollars for each emigrant over twelve years of age, and of five dollars for each emigrant under twelve years of age, which also includes the transportation of the baggage, and the daily supply of sailors' rations, and to convey and bring back free from cost such agents, as they from time to time choose to send.

The public benefits to be derived from this enterprise, it is believed, are alike practical, philanthropic, and obvious; and its advantages to the emigrants may be ascertained from the fact, that the cost per head under the most untiring and favorable efforts of the American Colonization Society, is *thirty* dollars for adults, and half-price for children.

The undersigned and his associates believe that small ships, either steamers or sail

vessels, cannot be successfully employed in the transportation of emigrants at so low a price, but the rapidity of the voyage, and the number to be transported, will enable them to reduce the cost of passage by a saving of subsistence during the voyage.

Small steamers could not carry the necessary fuel to make any speed in a voyage of over four thousand miles, and consequently they would not be efficient in the suppression of the slave trade.

Hence, therefore, the above projection of service is considered effective for all practical purposes; the suppression of the slave trade by the continued presence of such vessels; the encouragement and protection of our commerce, and the much desired object of quick, cheap, safe, and commodious transportation, which must necessarily lead to numerous emigration.

JOSEPH BRYAN, *of Alabama, for himself and his associates.*

We propose to subject this project to a full, fair and careful examination in all its various aspects, and especially to consider whether the Republic of Liberia possesses the advantages claimed for it—whether the free colored people of this country can be induced to emigrate, and can make prosperous settlements on the western coast of Africa, and whether that Continent can be civilized by such means, and the inhuman slave trade abolished.

It is contended by the advocates of colonization, and with great show of reason, that the success of the Republic of Liberia, in sweeping away the Slave Trade from nearly four hundred miles of coast, where it formerly existed in its chief strength, points out the true and only remedy for the vast evil, to remove which England has, according to Mr. McQueen's statement, expended no less than twenty millions sterling, besides sacrificing a number of valuable lives.

We were assured by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, at the close of the year 1847, that the Slave Trade was increasing rapidly, notwithstanding all the efforts to suppress it, and that the true course to be pursued was to revive the African Civilization Society; but that instead of white men, the emigrants should be selected from the West India colored population, it having been fully established by experience that only colored men could, with safety, settle upon the African coast.

The conclusion is indisputably correct, that the planting and building up of Colonies of colored people on the coast of Africa, is the only practical remedy for the Slave Trade; but it may be doubted whether these Colonists can be drawn from the British West Indies, where the laboring population is already too scanty; whereas, in the United States, there are nearly half a million of free colored people, whose presence is regarded by the whites with dislike. It is, therefore, from this part of the world alone, where the emigrants of the right class can be found for the object in view.

The Colony of Liberia was first established in the year 1820, by free colored emigrants from the United States, who were sent out by a Society called the American Colonization Society, supported by voluntary contributions. The objects of this Society are :

1. To rescue the free colored people of the United States from their political and social disadvantages.
2. To place them in a country where they may enjoy the benefits of free government, with all the blessings which it brings in its train.
3. To spread civilization, sound morals, and true religion throughout the Continent of Africa.
4. To arrest and destroy the Slave Trade.

5. To afford slave owners, who wish, or are willing to liberate their slaves, an asylum for their reception.

Soon after the settlement of the Colony, it was attacked by a large number of native warriors, who were, however, defeated, and the Colony has thriven uninterruptedly from that time to the present. Its actual condition, by the last accounts, and the thirty-third Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, is most satisfactory and encouraging. Although the funds of the Society have been but small in amount, seldom exceeding fifty thousand dollars per year, they have purchased a territory on the African coast, more than four hundred miles in extent. They have conveyed to that territory from the United States, according to the above Report, six thousand six hundred and fifty-three free people of color, who have formed, and are capable of maintaining a prosperous and independent government. "They have brought under the canopy of Liberia law, more than eighty thousand hitherto wild and untutored savages. The Slave Trade has been abolished for several hundred miles on the coast. They have founded Schools, built Churches, and put up Printing Presses—cleared farms, and sprinkled abroad the green tints of Agriculture—established the Temples of Justice—transplanted our beautiful Arts to a distant Continent, and carried our mother tongue to where it will become the language of millions for ages to come."

In July, 1847, an Independent Government was formed, and a population of eighty thousand adopted the Constitution and laws, and became members of the Republic. Its newly elected President, J. J. Roberts, a man of color, in his recent visit to England, France and Germany, was treated with great respect, and found no difficulty in securing the acknowledgement of the Independence of the Republic of Liberia by the Governments of the two former countries.

There is not a single white man concerned in the Government of Liberia, and yet Mr. Clay, in his address delivered at the last annual meeting of the Colonization Society, uses the following emphatic language :—

"The State papers which I have seen from that infant Commonwealth would do credit to the more ancient States of our confederacy. They, the Liberians, possess stability, order, law, and the means of education, and a devotion to that God who has blessed them and us in the noble enterprise in which we have been engaged."

The soil of Liberia is very fertile, and the labor of one man is sufficient for the support of three. The productions are Indian corn, coffee, yams, plantains, arrow-root, ginger, &c., and there is every reason to anticipate an extensive foreign commerce.

The Liberians have by force suppressed some of the slave trading establishments in their neighborhood—have made treaties with several tribes, numbering over two hundred thousand souls, for the discontinuance of the traffic, and have entered into contracts for the purchase of the whole territory between Sierra Leone and Liberia, (now infested by traffickers in human flesh) with the view of annexing that territory to the little Republic.

The climate of Liberia is not so unhealthy for the colored race as many parts of the United States. The deaths from fever, in becoming acclimated, are now estimated at only three per cent.

Liberia is protected from the scorching winds of the North and East by ranges of mountains. The Rev. Mr. Gurley, who has recently visited the Colony, reports that the town of Monrovia contains four hundred well constructed houses; that the commerce was increasing, as well as the number of flourishing farms, and he testifies that the congregations addressed by him, were as devout and decently clad as any he had ever seen.

The British Government has placed a naval force at the disposal of the President of Liberia for the suppression of the Slave Trade on territory recently purchased, where the Slave Traders refused to leave. Nor have British citizens been indifferent to the welfare of this interesting Colony. A single individual, Mr. Gurney, has engaged to subscribe the magnificent sum of £1,000 towards the purchase of the territory lying between the Northern boundary of the Republic and Sierra Leone.

The success of the American Colonization Society now being fully established, it is high time to greatly extend its operations. Not only can the free colored people of this country, by emigrating to Africa, be the means of civilizing that continent, and destroying the Slave Trade; but their emigration is also necessary, in order that they may be rescued from the political and social disadvantages under which they labor in the United States. Their numbers are rapidly increasing, and their presence is not desired in any part of the Union. Some of the States have prohibited the admission of free Negroes or Mulattoes, and have authorized even the selling the intruders into slavery.

The free Negroes are every where in the United States excluded from any but the meanest employments. Many of them could easily be persuaded to rise from their degraded position and to emigrate to Liberia, if a quick and pleasant passage were secured for them, and an adequate provision for their support on their arrival at their new home, until able to shift for themselves.

Every emigrant is welcomed to the Colony and receives a grant of five acres of land, besides which, he can purchase as much more as he pleases, at one dollar per acre.

There is no doubt that the Republic of Liberia will be assisted by the whole civilized world in its crusade against the slave traders, and that it will be enabled to purchase the most important portions of the western coast. The emigrants from America will receive liberal support in establishing themselves in their new homes, and the consequence will be, that hundreds of thousands of intelligent free colored people will be anxious to go from the United States to Africa, and will be the instrument by which the African Slave Trade will be effectually destroyed, and civilization introduced into the darkest recesses of that continent. Funds in abundance will be raised, not only to convey the free people of color to that country and establish them there, but also to explore it, improve its harbors, and make the Republic what it desires to be—an instrument of deliverance to that quarter of the world.

It has become evident that the slave traders must be attacked on the land instead of the sea, and that this attack can only be made successfully by free blacks establishing Colonies in Africa. They will be entitled to, and will doubtless have, the support of the whole Christian world, especially of France, England and the United States.

The establishment of the Republic of Liberia, and its recognition by the great powers of Europe, has powerfully attracted the attention of the free colored people of the United States, and excited a spirit of inquiry which will undoubtedly lead to a large emigration.

There are about 500,000 free colored people in the United States—a number equal to that of all the Slaves at the time of the declaration of Independence in 1776. The number of Slaves manumitted to be sent to Liberia will hereafter be very large, especially from the middle States, if Congress will aid the cause of Colonization in the way proposed.

The following table shows the number of the free colored population of the United States up to 1840 :

Years, - - -	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
Total number, - -	59,467	108,398	186,446	238,197	319,599	386,235
Actual increase, - -	48,931	78,048	51,751	81,402	66,636	

As before observed, the free colored population is now estimated at half a million, and it is rapidly increasing. The annual increase of the black race in the United States, is not less than 70,000. It may be fairly assumed that most of the blacks now free can be induced to emigrate, and that but few of those who may be hereafter manumitted will remain in this country.

The ships will be large and magnificent, and will be open to the inspection of the colored people who will be invited to examine them in the ports of New-York, New-Orleans, Baltimore, Charleston, Norfolk, &c. The difference between a passage in a small sailing vessel across the Atlantic, and a passage in one of these steamers, will be duly appreciated. The Colonization Society will have no difficulty in raising the funds necessary to defray the passage money, (\$10 per head for adults, and \$5 per head for children,) nor in procuring the necessary outfit for the emigrants and a suitable provision for them in the Colony.

The Colony now has the protection of England and France, and when it is known that a great effort is being made in the United States to colonize Africa, a sufficient amount of money can be raised, in England alone, for the purchase of materials for building, furniture, stock and provisions for the first bands of settlers. And as the British government has resolved to use all possible means for the suppression of the African Slave Trade, that government will, in all probability, if relieved from the necessity of maintaining a squadron on the coast of Africa, be ready and willing to advance the Republic of Liberia loans to defray the expenses of surveys, roads, bridges and harbors. Besides all this, there seems to be a disposition to supply the Republic with ample means to subsidize the natives to act against the slave traders. Nor will funds in support of the Colonists be wanting in this country. If each State pays only one dollar per head per annum, for its free colored population, an adequate sum will be placed at the disposal of the Colonization Society, to be added to their various other sources of income.

Nothing is required but the stimulus which the establishment of the proposed line of steam ships will give to the cause of emigration ; there will be no want of funds to provide the emigrants with every thing required for their comfort; and when the free colored people learn that they can go to Liberia in twelve or fourteen days, and return again if they do

not like it ; that they are certain of obtaining profitable employment and are assured the means of subsistence, all objections to emigrating will be removed. The most intelligent amongst them will influence others to go to a country where they can, in addition to advancing their own interests, be of vast service to their fellow creatures in abolishing the Slave Trade, and civilizing a quarter of the world where the missionary enterprizes of the whites have all signally failed.

It is submitted with confidence, that no single measure could be devised more gratifying to the public at large, than the application of some of our war steamers in time of peace to the purposes above referred to—the whole business being under the control of the American Col. Society, whose labors in behalf of Liberia have been crowned with such eminent success. The names of the President and Vice-Presidents are of themselves a sufficient guarantee for the faithful performance of the duties which will, if Congress take the desired action, devolve upon the Colonization Society.

It is not supposed that any state will compel its colored population to emigrate to Liberia—no resort to compulsion will be necessary or proper—the inducements to emigrate will be all sufficient, when comfortable homes and an ample subsistence are provided for the emigrants. The cost of the passage being reduced to a very small amount, the sums appropriated by the various States, and raised by subscriptions in this Country and in Europe, will be available for the purpose of making comfortable provision for the emigrants on their arrival. There can be no doubt that the funds will be ample. Hitherto the resources of the Colonization Society have been very limited, about \$50,000 per annum, much of which has been applied to the home expenses of the Society, so that little could be done beyond merely transporting the emigrants and making some slight provision for them for a period of six months. The Colony, therefore, has not been so attractive to the free colored population as it will be in future, protected and petted as it will be by the great powers of Europe, and supplied with an abundance of pecuniary means. Hitherto the Colony has had to encounter all the difficulties of early enterprises of this kind, but now the settlement is fully established and thriving, and a permanent influence has been obtained over the surrounding tribes. The medical treatment of the diseases of the Country is now better understood than formerly, and the population is increasing irrespective of the new arrivals. A comparison is challenged between the mortality of Liberia and that of any of our Western States in the early stages of their settlement.

The emigrants being civilized, fill all the more respectable occupations, whilst the natives are the laborers. This arrangement is attended with great advantages—the natives acquire a taste for dress and other comforts and elegances of civilized life ; and to gratify that taste, are induced to labor—they are also impressed with a proper degree of respect for their employers, and willingly bring their children to be educated. This is the true way, and the only way to civilize Africa, and when thousands instead of hundreds shall annually go to Liberia, the results will be great indeed. Let Liberia be strengthened by the acquisition of thousands of emigrants annually, and she will soon be in a condition to take under her protection a great many more of the tribes in her neighborhood—

save them from desolating wars and the slave trade, and learn them the arts of peace.

When the free colored people of this Country learn that, in addition to a pleasant, quick, and easy passage to Liberia, and the preparation of comfortable homes for them, they and their children, instead of being engaged in only the meanest and most degrading occupations, will fill only those which are most agreeable and most respectable—they will be ready to go faster than the proposed ships can take them, and it will, in all probability, be desirable in less than ten years to extend the scale of operations.

With respect to the question, whether, if this great stimulus be given to the cause of emigration, the various State Legislatures will make appropriations for the assistance of the emigrants, a brief review of their past action on this subject will afford a satisfactory answer. The State of Virginia has appropriated nearly forty thousand dollars per year for this work; several other States have made liberal appropriations. As many as fourteen States have instructed their Representatives in Congress to support the cause of colonization, and it is not believed that there is a single State in the Union, in which there are many free Negro inhabitants, that will fail to support this cause, if a line of steamers be established as proposed by the Memorial now before Congress.

The proposed action of Congress is not in any degree open to the objection of unconstitutionality. It differs materially from a direct grant of money by Congress, to the Colonization Society, which, according to some few opinions, would not be authorized by the Constitution. However that may be, it is clearly competent for Congress to make contracts for the building of steamships suitable for war purposes, and to permit them to be employed in commerce until required for the public service—also for the carrying of the Mails; and these powers have lately been exercised on several occasions. It is also highly desirable for Congress to adopt efficient, in lieu of the present inefficient means of suppressing the African Slave Trade; and it will be perceived, that if the useless squadron now employed on the coast of Africa, were dispensed with, the money thus saved would go a good way towards the support of the proposed steamships, and these ships would, in case of war, be of more service than the vessels superseded.

The scale of operations proposed by the Memorialists, is certainly not open to the objection of being too extensive, seeing that the annual increase of the black population in this country is not less than seventy thousand; but the four steamships of the size proposed, will be adequate for the emigrants desiring to use them for the first few years, and the system is easily capable of expansion. The Government should not be content with ships of a smaller size than that proposed, as large steamships have, for war purposes, great advantages over smaller ones. In small steamships there is but little space left, after allowing for the coal, the boilers and machinery, so that they are not suited for the transportation of large bodies of troops. Four such ships as the Memorialists propose to build, would have sufficed to carry the whole of General Scott's army to Vera Cruz before the enemy would have been apprised of the intended expedition. Such ships would, having the strength, speed and capacity to remain at sea for a long time, be more destructive to the commerce of an enemy

than a whole fleet of ordinary vessels of war. Small steamships may do very well for the protection of the coast, but large ships alone can carry coal enough to keep afloat for the necessary period in aggressive warfare, and it is only large ships which can be made to possess the necessary powers of endurance, and be fit to carry heavy guns and a proper complement of men.

It is obvious, that the more vessels the proposed Company build, and the larger and stronger they are, the better it will be for the Government, as the payment will be made according to the number of trips, and not according to the number of ships put into the service. And yet, so great are the advantages of large over small ships, that the interests of the Memorialists will be found to correspond, and be identical with those of the Government in this important particular.

With respect to the general question, whether it is expedient and advisable to build up a steam navy, to be used in time of peace for commercial purposes, and to be ready at all times to be applied to the use of the public, it is conceived that the question has already been fully passed upon, and decided in the affirmative by the clear voice of public opinion.

That it is desirable to have such ships as the Georgia, the Ohio, the Atlantic, ready for the public service, will not be denied in the face of the great fact, that other maritime powers are supplying themselves with similar means of attack and defence. The simple question, therefore, resolves itself into this—whether the Government should build such ships, and keep them in the naval service in time of peace. That it may be proper to have some steamships of war constantly in the service, may well be conceded, but it by no means follows that the available force of the country should be confined to these. The force would, in that case be too small ; or if an adequate number of ships were kept constantly in commission, the expense would be by far too great, nay, enormous and ruinous. It would cost at least six hundred thousand dollars per year to keep each of the ships afloat, besides the interest of the money laid out in building them, and the depreciation in value. To cap the climax, the ships themselves would, in all probability, be failures, if the Government built them, instead of private individuals, under special contracts. The experience of the past essays of the Governments, both of the United States and England, in steamship building, warrants us in making this assumption.

Moreover, the ships would, if in the Government service, be cruising about doing nothing, instead of being applied, as they ought to be, to great and useful purposes, which cannot be achieved in any other way. Moved by these, or other similar considerations, we find the Government of Great Britain maintaining numerous lines of steamers at a vast expense, wherever those steamers can be made to effect great public objects not to be attained by mere private enterprize, unaided by the imperial treasury ; and the wisdom of this policy does not admit of any doubt or question.

The proposed ships will not only be always ready and in fine order for the public service, but there will also be a body of skilful and trained officers, engineers and firemen ready to man them.

With respect to the provision in the proposed contract, that the Government shall upon requiring the ships for the public service, pay the cost price and an addition of ten per cent. thereon, that is a matter of detail which

should be adjusted on a fair and equitable basis ; but it will be necessary to have some provision based upon the cost price, instead of the value at the time of their being taken, as the value of such ships would rise enormously on the commencement of hostilities :—thus, during the late war with Mexico there was a rise of 100 per cent. in the value of steam-ships suitable for war purposes.

It is true that this great enterprise for the colonization of Africa is not to be effected without some considerable expense, but who is there that will begrudge it, if it be once perceived that the attention of the public and of the State Legislatures, and a disposition on the part of the free blacks to emigrate, cannot be excited in any other way than by the adoption of a grand system of communication between our principal ports on the Atlantic and the western coast of Africa ? This is the real, the simple question—would not the necessary stimulus to emigration be given by the adoption of this project ? We confidently submit that it would, and that the merits of this system of colonization will be speedily recognized by the whole civilized world, and the fact acknowledged that this is the true and only way to abolish the slave trade, and civilize and christianize the continent of Africa.

We repeat, that no plan dissimilar in character from the one now offered, will avail, to effect that most desirable object, the Colonization of Africa, by the free Negroes of this country. In the first place, the aid of Congress is clearly indispensable. 2dly. Such aid can be best afforded in the way suggested ; and the employment of ships of war in time of peace in carrying emigrants to Africa, will be very popular. 3dly. This business cannot properly be carried on without the aid of private enterprize, and the control of the Colonization Society is required in order that every proper precaution may be taken in favor of the emigrants to secure their safety, health and comfort on the voyage, and adequate provision for them on the arrival in the Colony.

The annexed extracts from the speeches and writings of leading statesmen, and from public documents and addresses, will be found to fully corroborate all the statements of facts briefly referred to in the above remarks, and will amply repay the most careful perusal.

APPENDIX.

OPINIONS OF JEFFERSON, MADISON, MONROE AND CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL AND OTHERS, ON THE COLONIZATION OF AFRICA.

The following extracts from an Address to the Legislators and People of Virginia, published in the thirty-third Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, January 15, 1850, shows the progress of the question in Virginia :

"The Governor of the Commonwealth having in his late message recommended the American Colonization Society to the particular attention of the Legislature, and the subject having been referred to a select committee, whose report is daily anticipated, it seems a fitting time to remind the Legislators and citizens of Virginia of some facts touching the origin and history of an institution which is attracting the regards and challenging the admiration of the civilized world. It must endear this institution to Virginians, and strengthen their confidence in its wisdom, to be reminded that it comes commended to the present generation by the authority of our most patriotic and sagacious statesmen, and the deliberate successive acts of our Legislature.

It claims for its authors, Thos. Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, Edmund Pendleton and George Wythe—high in the first rank of their country's orators and jurists—the Mansfield and the Hale of Virginia—George Mason, perhaps the wisest statesman to whom Virginia has given birth—and Thomas Ludwell Lee, who was deemed by the Legislature of 1776 their fit associate. These gentlemen were appointed by the first Legislature after the Declaration of Independence, to revise the laws of this State. This committee proposed a comprehensive plan of colonization. The emancipation feature in this plan was probably the reason of its failure. The seed of the Colonization Society had nevertheless been sown, which springing up after the lapse of a few years, and pruned of its excrescences, began to grow and bear fruit. Its first fruit was the plan of Dr. Thornton, (a Virginian,) in 1787, to colonize the *free* colored people upon *the coast of Africa*. This being the suggestion of a private individual had no visible results. A few years afterward, the Colony of Sierra Leone, consisting of slaves who had taken refuge in the British army during the Revolutionary war, was established.

On the 31st Dec. 1800, the house of Delegates of Virginia, passed almost unanimously the following resolution :

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, on the subject of purchasing lands without the limits of this state, whither persons obnoxious to the laws or dangerous to the peace of society may be removed."

In compliance with this resolution Mr. MONROE addressed a letter to Mr. Jefferson, dated Richmond 15th June, 1801, in which he says: 'We perceive an existing evil which commenced under our colonial system with which we are not properly chargeable, and we acknowledge the extreme difficulty of remedying it. At this point the mind rests with suspense, and surveys with anxiety obstacles which become more serious as we approach them. To lead to a sound decision and make the result a happy one, it is necessary that the field of practicable expedients be opened on the widest possible scale; under this view of the subject I shall beg leave to be advised whether

a tract of land in the western territory of the United States can be procured for this purpose, in what quarter and on what terms? You perceive that I invite your attention to a subject of great importance, one which in a peculiar degree involves the future peace and tranquility and happiness of the good people of this commonwealth.'

On the 8th of November, 1801, Mr. JEFFERSON replied in a long letter, in the course of which he goes on to discuss the practicability and expediency of procuring territory on our western or southern frontier, and concludes with asking 'would we be willing to have such a colony in contact with us? It is impossible he adds not to look forward to distant times when our rapid multiplication will expand beyond those limits, and cover the whole northern if not the whole southern continent with a people speaking the same language and governed with the same laws. Nor can we contemplate with satisfaction either blot or mixture on that surface.'

He then gives the preference to the West Indies, and among these Islands to St. Domingo in consideration of their being already inhabited by a people of their own race and color, and having a climate congenial with their constitution, and being insulated from other descriptions of men. Africa, he concludes, would offer a last and undoubted resort if all others more desirable should fail us.

On the 16th June, 1802, the House of Delegates of Virginia passed the following resolutions, which were agreed to by the Senate on the 23d:

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to correspond with the President of the United States for the purpose of obtaining a place without the limits of the same, to which free negroes or mulattoes and such negroes or mulattoes as may be emancipated, may be sent or choose to remove as a place of asylum, and that it is not the wish of the Legislature to obtain the sovereignty of such place.'

In Dec. 1804, Mr. JEFFERSON addressed a letter to Governor Page of Virginia, in which he says, the island of St. Domingo, our nearest and most convenient resource, is too unsettled to be looked to for any permanent arrangements. He then suggests whether the inhabitants of our late purchase, beyond the Mississippi, and the national Legislature, would consent that a portion of that country should be set apart for the persons contemplated. And not yet seeming to despair of Africa, he adds, my last information as to *Sierra Leone* is that the company was proposing to deliver up their colony to the Government. Should this take place it might furnish an opportunity for an incorporation of ours into it. This led to the following resolution of the House of Delegates on the 3d of Dec. 1804 :

Resolved, That the Senators of this State, in the Congress of the United States, be instructed and the Representatives be requested to exert their best efforts for the purpose of obtaining from the General Government a competent portion of territory in the country of Louisiana, to be appropriated to the residence of such people of color as have been or may be emancipated in Virginia, or may hereafter become dangerous to the public safety. *Provided*, that no contract or arrangement respecting such territory shall be obligatory on this Commonwealth until ratified by the Legislature.'

This resolution was sent by Governor Page to the Representatives of Virginia.

Our difficulties with France and England now supervened and arrested at this point these interesting proceedings. But there was at least one eminent politician whose mind was not diverted from the contemplation of this subject by the approaching war with England. In Jan. 1811, Mr. JEFFERSON said, 'I have long ago made up my mind upon this subject, and have no hesitation in saying I have ever thought it the most desirable measure for gradually drawing off this part of our population. Going from a country possessing all the useful arts, they might be the means of transporting them among the inhabitants of Africa, and would thus carry back to the country of their origin, the seed of civilization, which might render their sojourning here a blessing in the end to that country. **NOTHING IS MORE TO BE WISHED THAN THE UNITED STATES WOULD THEMSELVES UNDERTAKE TO MAKE SUCH AN ESTABLISHMENT ON THE COAST OF AFRICA.** Exclusive of motives of humanity, the commercial advantages to be derived from it might defray all its expenses.' A treaty of peace having been concluded with Great Britain in 1815, the public mind reverted with increased interest to the scheme of colonization.

In December, 1816, with only seven dissenting voices in the House of Delegates, and one in the Senate, the following resolutions moved by Mr. Mercer, passed the Legislature of Virginia :

'Whereas, the General Assembly of Virginia, have repeatedly sought to obtain an asylum beyond the limits of the United States, for such persons of color as have been, or may be emancipated under the laws of this commonwealth, but have hitherto found all their efforts frustrated, either by the disturbed state of other nations, or domestic causes equally unpropitious to its success. They now avail themselves of a period when peace has healed the wounds of humanity, and the principal nations of Europe have agreed with the government of the United States, in abolishing the African slave trade, (a traffic which this Commonwealth both before and after the Revolution, zealously sought to extirpate,) to renew this effort: therefore,

'Resolved, That the Executive be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or at some other place not within any of the States or territorial governments of the United States, to serve for an asylum of such persons of color as are now free, and desire the same, and for those who may be hereafter emancipated within this Commonwealth, and that the Senate and Representatives of this state and the Congress of the United States, be requested to exert their best efforts to aid in the attainment of the above object.'

In the meantime Dr. Finley, Bishop Meade, Frank Key, &c., had been anxiously pondering the subject of African Colonization. These with other persons of like minds, assembled in the city of Washington on the 21st of December of the same year, and recommended the formation of the American Colonization Society.

Mr. CLAY was chairman of the meeting, and stirring addresses were made by him, and by Messrs. CALDWELL and RANDOLPH of Roanoke. A committee was appointed to present a memorial to Congress asking their co-operation; John Randolph was on that committee. The Society held its first meeting on the 17th of January, 1817, and elected its officers. Hon. BUSHROD WASHINGTON was made President, and among the 13 Vice-Presidents were CLAY, CRAWFORD, JACKSON, and JOHN TAYLOR, of Virginia. The committee of the Society prepared a memorial to Congress, which was referred to a committee of the House of Representatives, who made an able report concluding with resolutions recommending negotiations with the great states of Europe, for the abolition of the slave trade, and an application to Great Britain to receive into the colony of Sierra Leone such of the free people of color of the United States, as should be carried thither. And should this proposition not be accepted, then to obtain from Great Britain a stipulation, guaranteeing a permanent neutrality to any colony established under the auspices of the United States upon the coast of Africa.

On the 3d of March, 1819, Congress passed an act authorising the President of the United States to make such arrangements as he might deem expedient for the safe keeping and removal out of the United States of such persons of color as might be brought into any of the States under the act abolishing the slave trade, and to appoint agents upon the coast of Africa, for receiving such persons. Agents were accordingly appointed by the government, who acting in co-operation with the agents of the society, purchased territory and established the colony. This purchase was made in 1822, by an agent of the society, and Capt. Stockton of the navy, on the part of the government of the United States. From that moment, the course of the colony has been steadily onward 'through evil and through good report,' until it has taken its place among the independent nations of the earth, under the denomination of the 'Republic of Liberia.'

To return from this digression, to Virginia. An auxiliary society was formed in Richmond in November, 1823, at the head of which was placed the Hon. JOHN MARSHALL, (clarum et venerabile nomen) who continued to preside over its deliberations, and to guide it by his wise counsels, to the day of his lamented death. He was succeeded by the Hon. JOHN TYLER, late president of the United States. The Richmond Society by its able reports, its energetic agencies, and its stirring appeals, was instrumental in diffusing information and procuring contributions, which rendered very valuable aid in a time of need, to the Parent Society at Washington. It also obtained from the Legislature in 1825 and 1828, donations in clothing and implements of agriculture, which supplied very opportunely pressing wants of the infant colony in Africa. The Colonization Society at this period, had a task of great delicacy to perform. The questions growing

cut of the admission of Missouri into the Union, had fearfully agitated the whole country, and threatened to overwhelm this benevolent enterprise in ruin, but by following the chart of her original principles with the strictest fidelity, and steering between the rock of indifferentism on the one hand, and the whirlpool of abolitionism on the other, she was enabled with the blessing of heaven to weather the storm. At this critical juncture were heard above the roaring of the tempest of fanaticism, the voices of her gallant commanders, Madison and Marshall, cheering her onward in her noble mission.

Mr. MADISON in a letter dated Jan. 16, 1832, said, 'the Society had always my best wishes, although with hopes of success less sanguine than those entertained by others found to be better judges, and I feel the greatest pleasure at the progress already made by the Society, and the encouragement to encounter remaining difficulties afforded by the greater and earlier difficulties already overcome. I cherish the hope that the time will come when the dreadful calamity which has so long afflicted our country, and filled so many with despair, will be gradually removed, and by means consistent with justice, peace, and the general satisfaction; thus giving to our country the full enjoyment of the blessings of liberty, and to the world the full benefit of its great example.'

Judge MARSHALL in the same year, said, the removal of our colored population is a common object by no means conferred to the slave states, although they are more immediately interested in it. The whole Union, he adds, would be strengthened by it, and relieved from a danger whose extent can be scarcely estimated. Here we have the authority of the 'father of the constitution' and its greatest expounder, both of whom thought the object contemplated by the Colonization Society, so important that it demanded *the interposition of the general government, and both regarded the public lands as a proper resource of effecting it.*

Gen. Brodnax in the session of 1832 and '33, reported a bill devising ways and means for deporting free negroes and such as may become free in Virginia, to Liberia. The bill proposed an appropriation of \$35,000 for the present year and \$90,000 for the next, to be applied to this purpose. It passed the House of Delegates, but was lost in the Senate. Notwithstanding this discouragement, the subject was again moved, and on the 4th of March, 1833, an act passed the Legislature appropriating \$18,000, and constituting the Governor, Lieut. Governor, and 1st and 2d Auditors, a board of commissioners, for carrying its provisions into effect. This act, as was predicted at the time, was rendered utterly inefficient by the restrictions with which it was encumbered.

In 1837, the Board of Managers of the Virginia Society, seconded by petitions from several auxiliary societies, presented a memorial to the Legislature asking for an act of incorporation, and an amendment of the act of 1833, so as to make its provisions available, and on the 13th of February of the same year, the report of the select committee, declaring these petitions reasonable, was agreed to by the House of Delegates, and a bill ordered. For want of time or some other cause not known, this bill did not become a law. And now in 1850. Mr. Dorman has reported a bill to the same end, founded upon the recommendation in the message of Governor Floyd.

Such is believed to be a just account of the *history of the idea of colonizing our people of color* from its first conception, until its full development in the American Colonization Society. It is not within the scope of this address to write the history of that society—its unparalleled success is not now questioned by any unprejudiced man. Mr. Gurley, who was commissioned by the general government to visit Liberia and investigate its condition, is just returned, and is now preparing an elaborate report, illustrating the commercial and other interests of that young Republic; his testimony to its present prosperity and the greatness of its future prospects is most decisive and encouraging. Neither is it a part of my plan to cite the authority or acts of the several State Legislatures, fourteen of which have given the society their approbation, and one, Maryland, has made it a part of her permanent policy by establishing and cherishing with annual appropriations the colony of Maryland in Liberia. Nor will I now insist upon the benefits, social, political and moral, that are conferred by this society upon the white race in America, and upon the black race upon both continents. Let it suffice to say that we have in our midst, in the persons of our free colored people, *an evil of enormous magnitude*. That this evil has increased, is increasing and ought to be diminished, every

body admits. When Mr. Jefferson proposed his plan of colonization, there were only about 10,000 free negroes in Virginia—now the number is estimated at 60,000, and is increasing.

A great change is coming every day over the dreams of the colored people upon this subject. The establishment of the Republic of Liberia, and its recognition by the great powers of Europe, has attracted their attention, and excited a spirit of inquiry which will undoubtedly lead to a large emigration."

APPROPRIATION BY THE STATE OF VIRGINIA.

The General Assembly of Virginia, in the session of the present year, 1850, appropriated the sum of thirty thousand dollars annually, for the period of five years, for the emigration of free persons of color from Virginia to Liberia, by the American Colonization Society, and in order to induce the free Negroes to migrate from Virginia, an annual tax of one dollar each was directed to be levied upon every male free Negro of the age of twenty-one years, and under the age of 55 years. The fund arising from that source is to be applied to the removal of free Negroes from the State to Liberia, in addition to the above appropriation. It is provided that not more than the sum of twenty-five dollars shall be allowed for the transportation and subsistence of any free person of color above the age of ten years, and not more than the sum of fifteen dollars for the transportation and subsistence of any free person of color under the said age of ten years.

Hitherto the actual average expense of this transportation and subsistence of each person, young and old, has been fifty dollars, and this does not include the salaries of agents and physicians, either in this country or Liberia. So that without assistance from some other source, not an individual can be removed from Virginia, and this splendid appropriation will be nugatory. The required assistance will, however, be secured by the establishment of the proper line of steamships, which will reduce the cost of transportation, besides awakening the public mind on this important subject, so that ample funds for the use of the emigrants will be collected in this country as well as in Europe.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF INDIANA.

In the month of January of the present year, the following resolutions were passed in the Legislature of Indiana :

"Whereas the policy of suppressing the 'African Slave Trade' by an armed blockade has, upon the whole, proved an entire failure, said trade being as vigorous now as it was before the blockade was attempted; and, whereas, it is likely that England will soon make overtures to our General Government demanding a release from all treaty stipulation whereby she is obliged to keep her expensive fleet on the African coast, for the suppression of the slave trade; and, whereas, the Governments of the United States and England are convinced that some other plan must be adopted to check that traffic; and, whereas, the settlement of the African coast with colonies of civilized colored men is the cheapest and best plan of suppressing said traffic, being likewise

calculated to further the work of colonizing our people of color, which plan of suppressing the trade is true American policy; therefore,

"Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be, and they are hereby requested, in the name of the State of Indiana, to call for a change of national policy on the subject of the 'African Slave Trade,' and that they require a settlement of the Coast of Africa with colored men from the United States, and procure such changes in our relations with England as will permit us to transport colored men from the United States, to Africa, with whom to effect said settlement.

GEORGE W. CARR, Speaker of the House of Reps.

JAMES H. LANE, President of the Senate.

Approved, January 16, 1850—Jos. A. WRIGHT."

Upon the above, the New York Observer makes the following judicious remarks:

"We have always advocated the colonization of the American negroes in Africa as the best means of securing at once the civilization of Africa, the abolition of the African slave trade, and the amelioration of the condition of the colored race among ourselves. At one time this project had few warm friends even among the conductors of the religious press in this country; while in Great Britain, through the influence of American abolitionists, it was decidedly opposed by those who made the highest professions of regard for the negro. Time has rolled on; and while it has shown the utter worthlessness of the projects on which British philanthropy, with so much display, has lavished its millions, the few thousands expended by the rebuked friends of colonization in America have been blessed of God for the accomplishment of a mighty work; a work which now promises to go on till it ends, not only in the abolition of the African slave trade, but in the salvation and exaltation of the negro race throughout the world. The friends of the project are now multiplying rapidly. The preceding admirable preamble and resolution have just been adopted by both branches of the legislature of Indiana."

OPINION OF THE HON. DANIEL WEBSTER ON COLONIZATION AT THE EXPENSE OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT.

The Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, in his great speech in the United States Senate, 7th of March, 1850, spoke as follows:

"I have one other remark to make. In my observations upon slavery as it has existed in the country, and as it now exists, I have expressed no opinion of the mode of its extinguishment or melioration. I will say, however, though I have nothing to propose on that subject, because I do not deem myself so competent as other gentlemen to consider it, that if any gentleman from the South shall propose a *scheme of colonization to be carried on by this Government* upon a large scale, for the transportation of free colored people to any colony or any place in the world, I should be quite disposed to incur *almost any degree of expense* to accomplish that object. Nay, sir, following an example set here more than twenty years ago by a great man, then a Senator from New York, I would return to Virginia, and through her for the benefit of the whole South, the money received from lands and territories ceded by her to this Government for any such purpose as to relieve, in whole or in part, or in any way to diminish or deal beneficially with, the free colored population of the Southern States. I have said that I honor Virginia for her cession of this territory. There have been received into the treasury of the United States eighty millions of dollars, the proceeds of the sales of the public lands ceded by her. If the residue should be sold at the same rate, the whole aggregate will exceed two hundred millions of dollars. If Virginia and the South see fit to adopt any proposition to relieve themselves from the free people of color among them, they have my free consent that the Government shall pay them any sum of money out of its proceeds, which may be adequate to the purpose."

At the 31st Anniversary of the American Colonization Society, held at Washington, January 18, 1848, the Hon. HENRY CLAY, in the course of his speech, made the following remarks :

"It is now nearly thirty years since Mr. Finley, Mr. Caldwell, and some other gentlemen, met by agreement with a view to form a Colonization Society. I was one of that number. We did not intend to do more or less than establish on the shores of Africa a colony, to which free colored persons with their own voluntary consent might go. There was to be no constraint, no coercion, no compulsory process to which those who went must submit: all was to be perfectly voluntary and unconstrained in any manner or degree. Far, very far, was it from our purpose to interfere with the slaves, or to shake or affect the title by which they are held in the least degree whatever. We saw and were fully aware of the fact that the free white race and the colored race never could live together on terms of equality. We did not stop to ask whether this was right or wrong: we looked at the fact, and on that fact we founded our operations. I know, indeed, that there are men, many of them of high respectability, who hold that all this is prejudice; that it should be expelled from our minds, and that we ought to reognise in men, though of different color from ourselves, members of our common race, entitled in all respects to equal privileges with ourselves. This may be so according to their view of the matter; but we went on the broad and incontestable fact, that the two races could not, on equal terms, live in the same community harmoniously together. And we thought that the people of color should be voluntarily removed, if practicable, to their native country, or to the country at least of their ancestors: there they might enjoy all those blessings of freedom and equality of condition which to them were impossible here. Our object, let me repeat it, was limited to the free; we never thought of touching in any manner the title to slave property. We hoped to be able to demonstrate the practicability of colonizing them; and when that should have been demonstrated, those who owned slaves might avail themselves of it or not—might send liberated slaves to Africa or not, precisely as they pleased. All our purpose was to establish, if we could, a colony of free colored men, and thus to demonstrate to the world that colonization was practicable.

It has been truly stated, that from the day of its formation to the present hour, the Society has been surrounded with difficulties. It has had to stand the fire of batteries both in front and rear, and upon both flanks. Extremes of opinion and of action, which could unite in nothing else, united in assaulting us. Those who cared for the safety of the institution of slavery assailed us on one hand, while the Abolitionists assaulted us on the other. But on what ground should either oppose such an enterprise? Our ground in regard to both was total non-interference. We meant to deal only with colored persons already free. This did not interfere with the projects of the Abolitionists. For myself, I believe those projects to be impracticable; and I am persuaded that if the same energy and effort which have been expended in getting up abolition movements, had been directed to the work of colonization, a vast amount of benefit would have resulted to the cause of humanity and to the colored race. Why should they attack us? We do not interfere with them. Their project is to emancipate at one blow the whole colored race. Well, if they can do that, then our object begins. The office of colonization commences only where theirs would end. The colored race being here in the midst of us, and not being capable of enjoying a state of equality with the whites around them, our object is to carry them to a place where they may enjoy, without molestation, all the benefits of freemen. Here is no incompatibility; and in point of fact we have thus far gone on our way without disturbing any body, either on the right or on the left.

But it is said that our Society is incapable of effecting any great object. That our aims can never be accomplished without aid from the State governments, or unless the general government shall send out of the country all the free blacks. It is our purpose to show the power of colonization, in competent hands, fully to carry out the benevolent ends we have in view, to work all the great results for which this Society was formed. Our purpose is to demonstrate to the American people, that *if they choose to take hold of this great project in their State Legislatures, or otherwise, the end sought is practicable, and the principle of colonization is competent to carry*

abroad all the colored population who shall be emancipated. That demonstration has been made.

The separation of free colored people from the white race is a measure recommended not only by the mutual and the separate good of both, but by the prospect that Africa, which has so long lain in barbarism, worshipping unknown and forbidden gods, may thus be brought to the light and blessings of Christianity. Those who met to form this Society saw not only that great good would accrue from their design to the colored race, by elevating their character, and restoring them to the possession of rights they never can enjoy here, but that it would be a probable means, in the end, of carrying to Africa all the blessings of our holy religion, and all the benefits of our civilization and freedom. What Christian is there who does not feel a deep interest in sending forth missionaries to convert the dark heathen, and bring them within the pale of Christianity? But what missionaries can be so potent as those it is our purpose to transport to the shores of Africa? Africans themselves by birth, or sharing at least African blood, will not all their feelings, all their best affections, induce them to seek the good of their countrymen? At this moment there are between four and five thousand colonists who have been sent to Africa under the care of this Society; and I will venture to say that they will accomplish as missionaries of the Christian religion more to disseminate its blessings than *all the rest of the missionaries throughout the globe.* Why, gentlemen, what have we heard? In the colony of Liberia there are now twenty-five places of public worship dedicated to the service of Almighty God, and to the glory of the Saviour of men; while thousands of the neighboring heathens are flocking into the colony to obtain a knowledge of the arts, and who may ultimately receive the better knowledge which Christianity alone can bestow.

These are the great purposes we had in view when a few of us met to form this Society. As soon as a purchase of territory had been effected by the agent we dispatched to Africa for that purpose, the first colonists, about twenty-five years since, left the American shores, and were safely transplanted to the land of their ancestors.

I know it was then urged, as it has been since, that other places might have been selected with equal advantage. I do not concur in that opinion. Look at the expense alone. It has been stated in your report that the sum of fifty dollars is sufficient to cover the expense of transporting one emigrant to Liberia, and of maintaining him there for six months after his arrival. To what other position in the known world could he be sent at so cheap a rate? Not to the Pacific; not to Oregon; not to Mexico. Then consider the advantages of this position in point of navigation: remember the shortness of the voyage. When these things are duly considered, it must be evident that to no *other spot on the face of the globe could the free colored people be sent with so much propriety as to the coast of Africa.* Besides, in any other place that might be selected you would deprive yourselves of accomplishing those high moral and religious objects which, in Africa, may be so confidently hoped for.

But again: it has been said that the object of carrying all the free colored race from this country to Africa is one which the Government itself, with all its means, could not effect. Now, on that point let me state a fact by way of reply. If I am not mistaken, the immigration from abroad into the port of New York alone, in the course of the last year, was fully equal to the annual increase of the free colored population of the Union, and yet all that was done voluntarily, and in most cases without any, or with very little aid. The fact rests on the great motive which, to a greater or less extent, governs all human action. Why is it that the Germans and the Irish have thus flocked to our shores, in numbers to meet the annual increase of our free colored people not only, but, as I believe, that of the slave population also? They come in obedience to one of the great laws of our nature; they have come under that efficient motive which propels man to all enterprises—the desire to better their condition. A like motive will sway the free blacks when enlightened as to the real facts of the case. If they reach the shores of Africa, whether by their own means, or by the aid and agency of others, their position will be physically, morally, and politically better than by any possibility it ever can be here. It is not our office to attempt impracticabilities; to amalgamate two races which God himself, by a difference of color, besides other inherent distinctions, has declared must be separate and remain separate from each other. And if such be of necessity, their condition here, to send them to Africa, not by coercion, but with their own free consent, is surely the best practicable mode of doing them good. And here I would say to those in both extremes of

opinion and of feeling on the subject of slavery—I would say to all men—why should the free people of color of these United States not have the option of removing to Africa, or remaining where they are, just as they themselves shall choose? That is all we attempt. We wish to describe to him the country, to facilitate his emigration to it, and then leave him to his free choice. And if after this he chooses to go, why interpose any obstacle in his way? In reply, it is said to be an act of cruelty to send him there. The climate is represented as inhospitable: he will be exposed to inevitable sickness, and will probably soon find a grave on that distant shore. To send a colored man out of the United States to a country like that is held up as an act of the greatest inhumanity. But, happily, our records bear the most grateful testimony to the reverse of all this. Let us for a moment compare the mortality of Liberia with that of the colonies planted on our own shores. Within the first seventeen years from the settlement of Jamestown, in Virginia, nine thousand colonists arrived, and £150,000 sterling were expended in transporting them from England, yet at the end of that period but about two thousand of them remained alive. All the rest had fallen victims either to the climate, or to the tomahawk of the savage, or had perished from other causes. Then look at Plymouth. History records that in less than six months after the arrival of the Mayflower, full half of all who landed had been destroyed by disease, want and suffering. Now, compare with these efforts at British colonization the results of our settlement at Liberia. In twenty-five years since the first emigrants landed from the United States the *deaths amounted to but twenty per cent. of the entire number*, being far less than died at Plymouth in six months; far less than at Jamestown in seventeen years. The deaths at Jamestown were in seventeen years more than four times as numerous, in proportion, as at Liberia in twenty-five years. There is then nothing in the climate to discourage us, nothing in the alleged dreadful mortality of the colony to frighten us.

But it is said we have done very little. All the great enterprises of man have had small beginnings. The founders of Rome, if we may believe the tale of tradition, were suckled by a wolf. Jamestown and Plymouth both languished for years after the period to which I have already referred. Yet now, what land is there on the broad surface of the habitable globe, what sea spreads out its waste of waters, that has not been penetrated and traversed by the enterprise, the skill, and the courage of our New England brethren? And on what battle-field, in what council chamber can a single spot in our vast country be found where the Virginian character has not displayed itself in its gallantry or its deliberative wisdom? I repeat it; all the greatest enterprises of man have had small beginnings. Our colony is but twenty-five years old, it has received already between four and five thousand colored emigrants, besides hundreds more of recaptured Africans; all of which have been sent there by order of this Government. Immense numbers of the natives are crowding into the colony to obtain the benefits of education, of civilization, and of christianity. In addition to all these there are many thousands more in the United States now seeking the advantages of colonization through the means held out by this Society. As far then as we have gone, **GOOD IS DONE.**

Is it not better that those four or five thousand emigrants should be there, than that they should have remained here? Is it not better for themselves, is it not better for us? Every year the progress of our colony becomes more and more cheering: and, with every free African sent over to it, those prospects brighten, and so much more of good is done. True, we have not done all we desire to do. Glad should we be should every free colored man throughout all the States go there and become free indeed. But it requires time to accomplish great national affairs. The creation of a nation is not the work of a day or of a century. For two or three centuries the embryo nation of the Israelites remained captives in Egypt. *But when this government, or the State governments, shall lend the enterprise their powerful aid, its progress will not be so slow.* And when the colony shall have made further advances, it will be self-sustained and increased by its own commerce and marine. I speak not, of course, of any unconstitutional aid. *Incidental aid, at least, may be given it in strict accordance with the constitution.* On this subject the legislature of Maryland has set us a noble example. She cherishes her infant colony with the utmost solicitude and care. When other States of the Union shall do the same, the cause of colonization will experience a vast acceleration.

During, now, a period of twenty-five years, without power, without revenue, with-

out aid save the voluntary contributions of the charitable and humane, has this Society continued its labors. During that period it has carried on a defensive war. It has made treaties. It has purchased territory, and that to a large extent; owning, now, some three hundred and twenty miles along the western coast of Africa, throughout the whole of which extent (with one dark exception) the slave trade has been suppressed. And in this connexion I may be permitted to remark, that if the Governments of Europe and of the United States, who have united their efforts for the suppression of the slave trade, would consent to lend *but a small portion of the naries they now, at so great a cost, maintain off the African coast in furtherance of that design, to the great object of colonization*, they would prove much more successful than they have hitherto found themselves in putting an end to that detested traffic. I believe that no other means will ever prove so operative and effectual to that end as the covering the entire coast of that quarter of the globe with colonies of free colored men. Then would all be united by sympathy for their outraged countrymen, in heartily advancing a design which commends itself to every feeling of the black man's heart.

And now, in conclusion, I should fail of expressing the feelings which are rising in my bosom, did I not congratulate you, gentlemen of the Society, on the eminent success which has already crowned your benevolent labors. A new republic has sprung into existence under your auspices. Yes; a free, representative, constitutional republic, formed on the model of our own beloved institutions. A republic, founded by black men, reared by black men, put into operation by the blacks, and which holds out to our hope the brightest prospects. Whether we look at what has already been done, or lift our eyes to the future and cast them down the long vista of coming time—when we may anticipate, as we are warranted to do, the dissemination over a large part, if not the whole, of Africa, of our own free principles of government, our love of liberty, our knowledge of Christianity, our arts, and civilization, and domestic happiness—when we behold those blessings realized on that continent which I trust in God we are long, long destined to enjoy on this, and think how the hearts of posterity will be gladdened by such a spectacle—how ought our own to exult in hope and to swell with gratitude?

Go on, then, gentlemen; go on in your noble cause. For myself, I shall soon leave you and this stage of human action forever. I may never occupy this chair again; but I trust that the spirit which originated and which has sustained this Society will long survive me, and that you may long continue, now that our African republic is at length born, to discharge the offices of guardianship, and aid and co-operation, and ever give to the interests of African freedom, civilization and social happiness, your best energies and most fervent prayers. From this auspicious hour, even to the end of time, or until the great object of the amicable separation of the two races shall have been fully effected, may others spring up to take your places, and to tread in your steps. And, finally, invoking on this great and good cause the blessing of that God without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy, and whose smiles, I believe, have hitherto been extended to it, I bid you a cordial farewell."

Extracts from the speech of the Hon. HENRY CLAY, delivered at the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, held at Washington, January 17th, 1850:

"I take occasion to say I meet you, fellow members of the Colonization Society, with very great satisfaction. It is our annual assemblage, it is the thirty-third year of our existence as a Society. We commenced with the declared purpose of confining our exertions to the colonization of the free people of color of the United States, with their own consent. To that great principle, and to that restriction of our exertion, we have constantly and faithfully adhered. During the existence of the Society we have met with every species of difficulty and obstruction. We have been in the attitude of a person standing between two fires, the ultraism of the North, and the ultraism of the South. The great masses, however, gentlemen of the Society, in both of these sections are, I believe, impartial. The enlightened masses have been with us, and we meet upon this occasion, under circumstances of peculiar encouragement, whether we look to Africa, or at home within our own country."

In glancing over Africa, we behold there the most gratifying results of the persever-

ance of the Society. Under the blessings of an All-wise Providence, we have brought into existence a State—a Commonwealth—a people self-governed, and that of a race which many have supposed were truly incapable of self-government; for, I understand, that there is not a solitary white man concerned in the administration of the government of Liberia. It is all their own work, and shows discretion, judgment and good sense. Indeed, the State papers which I have seen from that infant Commonwealth, would do credit to the more ancient States of our own Confederacy. They possess stability, order, law, and the means of education, and a devotion to that God, who has blessed them and us, in the noble enterprise in which we have been engaged. If we look at home, fellow citizens, we shall find great cause for gratification and satisfaction. Every where, I think opposition to the Society, and to its progress and success, has greatly abated.

Public opinion is becoming more and more sound every day in regard to the solution of the great problem which the Society has presented, of the practicability of the redemption of Africa from barbarity, and the transportation from our own country of an unhappy race, which it is impossible to amalgamate with the larger portion of the people of this country. It is no longer a debateable question, whether colonies can be successfully planted upon the shores of Africa. It is no longer a debateable question whether it is practicable, with the application of adequate and sufficient means, to transport, from time to time, free colored persons of the United States, those now free, with their issue, and those who may become free by the acts of their owners, who may hereafter think proper to emancipate them."

SPEECHES AND RESOLUTIONS DELIVERED AND PROPOSED BY HON. R. W. THOMPSON,
HON. ROBERT J. WALKER, HON. JOSEPH R. INGERSOLL, HON. R. M. M'LANE,
HUGH MAXWELL, ESQ., AND OTHERS.

At the 32d Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society, held at Washington, January, 16, 1849, the Hon. R. W. THOMPSON, of Indiana, offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

"Resolved, That the history of the past year, as developed in the report which has just been read, has strengthened our confidence in the great principles of the Colonization Society, and that their purity and strength we see satisfactory evidence of their ultimate triumph."

The Hon. ROBERT J. WALKER, Secretary of the Treasury, with some appropriate remarks, introduced the following resolution;

"Resolved, That in founding a new republican empire on the shores of Africa, introducing there civilization and Christianity; in banishing the slave trade from a large portion of its western coast, and accelerating its expulsion from that whole continent; in opening commerce and intercourse with the savage tribes of the interior, soon to be followed by a rapid advancement in their condition; in laying the foundation of a system destined to facilitate the ultimate separation of the two races of Ham and Japhet in this confederacy by universal consent, for the advantage of both, and the gradual and peaceful restoration of the former to the land of their forefathers, regenerated by the light of Christianity, and trained in the principles of our free institutions; and especially in fixing a basis upon which the friends of religion and humanity, of freedom, of the constitution, and of the Union, can every where, in every State, north and south, east and west, unite their efforts for the advancement of the happiness of both races, and at the same time accomplish the glorious purpose of preserving the harmony, and perpetuating the union of the States; the American Colonization Society, embracing the whole country and all its parts, has established a claim upon the efficient aid and zealous co-operation of every lover of his country and of mankind."

The Hon. JOSEPH R. INGERSOLL, of Pennsylvania, seconded the resolution, and addressed the meeting thereupon, after which it was adopted.

The Hon. ROBERT M. McLANE, of Maryland, offered the following preamble and resolutions, which were adopted :

"Whereas the institution of domestic slavery in the United States exists as the creature of local municipal law, so recognised and respected in the Federal Constitution: Therefore—

"Resolved, That in all action affecting this institution in its social or political aspect, the American citizen and statesman who reveres the Federal Union, has imposed upon him the most solemn obligations to respect in spirit and letter the authority of such local and municipal sovereignties, and to resist all aggressive influences which tend to disturb the peace and tranquility of the States, that may have created or sanctioned this institution.

"Resolved, further, That the efforts of the American Colonization Society to facilitate the ultimate emancipation and restoration of the black race to social and national independence are highly honorable and judicious, and consistent with a strict respect for the rights and privileges of the citizens of the several States wherein the institution of slavery is sanctioned by municipal law."

HUGH MAXWELL, Esq., of New York, was called upon, and having made an address, offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

"Resolved, That the influence which the scheme of African colonization exerts to suppress the slave trade, to spread the English language and the principles of republican government, and to open new markets for American products, and extend American commerce, should commend it to the favorable consideration of the respective State Legislatures and of the General Government."

The Hon. R. W. THOMPSON said :—

There is one fact connected with the introduction of the colored people into this country, which deserves a moment's consideration at the outset.

Who brought the Africans first into America? By what process were they introduced as slaves? Not by *us*. Not by our consent. The citizens of Virginia protested stoutly against the mother country for forcing them upon their new colony, contrary to the wishes and the interests of the colonists themselves. England brought them here! England pocketed their price, and for a series of years carried on the traffic as a source of gain.

Let this fact be borne in mind, in all our plans to improve *their* condition and *ours*: —the Africans were forced upon us at a time in their history when they were at the lowest point of humanity. They were heathens and barbarians. Their civil, social, and religious condition was forlorn, almost beyond possibility of aggravation.

Their situation among us, though bad in itself, has had a redeeming influence upon them. They have been instructed in the arts of civilized life; many of them have been taught the rudiments of a common education, and upon hundreds of them Christianity has exerted its healing, saving power.

But still they have been in an unnatural condition among us, not calculated to secure either their or our highest welfare. This was early felt in Virginia, and the idea of *Colonization* was entertained—and Mr. Jefferson incorporated it in the first draft which he made of a Constitution for the State, shortly after the Declaration of Independence.

But no scheme of Colonization was perfected until the formation of this Society, in which was engaged the best intellect of the nation. It is astonishing with what wisdom, prudence, and foresight they acted. The subject was environed with difficulties. There was no record on any page of the world's history from which they could read lessons of instruction to guide them. In all the past there was no model which they could copy. And yet they were guided, Heaven guided doubtless, in the formation of a scheme which with scarcely a single alteration has been carried out with the most triumphant success. The policy of this Society is at once simple and safe. It exercises all needed safeguards to the rights and interests of all concerned. It does not interfere with the relation of master and slave. It does not offer any oppression or injus-

tice to the free. It proposes to colonize with their own consent those who are free, and it appeals to the humane and philanthropic, it summons the highest motives of patriotism, and in the name of all that is noble and great, it calls for aid to carry out its designs of mercy!

With what success, the present prosperous condition of the independent Republic of Liberia can tell.

It has made the Bible the basis of all its operations. It has sent out the farmer and the mechanic, the merchant and the teacher, the Christian minister and the missionary, to a land shrouded in more than Egyptian darkness. With the Declaration of Independence in one hand, and divine benevolence in the other, it has gone forth to conquer, and the influence of these great truths has already been infused into that immense continent!

Who is there that has seen the condition of the nominally free in the free States, but has felt that something more was necessary to his welfare than could possibly be gathered around him there? Every feeling of humanity is aroused in their behalf. But ingenuity and benevolence are both outwitted by the stern reality of the case. We may sympathise with them, we may extend a helping hand—but after all has been done that can be done in their behalf, they wither before the overpowering shadow of the Saxon, and the truth compels the acknowledgment that the white and the colored race cannot subsist together on terms of perfect equality. Hence the motives necessary to produce the full development of their powers cannot be brought to bear upon them here. If you propose to make them feel and think and act like men, you must open to them an unobstructed field. You must furnish them with the means of removal to a place where their natures will not be bound—where their aspirations will not be crushed—where they shall hold in their own grasp all that make men and freemen in the most favored country. Such a place is LIBERIA! There they have already displayed a mental energy which has astonished the world.

The Hon. J. R. INGERSOLL said :

"This is a happy day for Liberia—once your *Colony*, but now an independent Republic! Who has not watched its rise and progress with deepest interest? With what anxious hearts the early pioneers have struggled on through toil and hardship, until now they stand up in a noble nationality and recognized independence! They have been admitted to an honorable standing among the nations of the earth!"

As you have heard from the Secretary, England and France have both acknowledged the independence of Liberia. And, if I mistake not, a third government either has, or is about to do the same!

And when President Roberts had completed the business which took him to Europe, he was furnished by the Government of England with passage for himself and family to Liberia in a government vessel. A friend handed me this evening a London paper, which I now hold in my hand, containing a print of the departure from Liverpool of his Excellency. The fine sloop 'Amazon' is drawn out, with the President on board, other vessels are firing a salute to that charming little British Queen, as in her yacht she glides along to hail the departure of the President, and wish him God speed on his voyage!

It is well known that we were the first to take a decided stand against the slave trade, to declare it a misdemeanor of the highest grade, and to punish it accordingly. We have ever resisted it as a gross outrage on humanity, not for a moment to be tolerated!

Consistency therefore requires that we should extend our sympathy and our comity to that people who have done more, a hundred fold, to put down the slave trade than we ever have done, or with our present policy can do. They have done a noble work! And they are yet extending their influence farther and abolishing that horrid traffic to the utmost limit of their power. We can aid them and we must do it.

It may not be unprofitable in this connection to allude to an institution in France, the existence of which throws some additional light on the wisdom of the scheme of colonization which we have been pursuing. There was formed in Paris in 1838 the "African Institution," for the purpose of colonizing Africa, for the redemption of the native tribes, and the extinction of the slave trade. It originated in the belief that the

only way to accomplish these desirable results was to transplant the institutions of civilization, education, agriculture, commerce, manufactures, the arts, social and political economy, literature and the fine arts, all these were to be carried to Africa by Africans themselves, and planted and nurtured by them, until they should increase and spread from one extremity of the land to the other, and having circled the whole country, should penetrate the interior, until every valley and mountain, every hill and plain, should become vocal with the songs of civilized men!

This was a private enterprise in the beginning, but the then Government made some appropriations to aid it, and the present Government may do the same, and it may yet accomplish great good.

The great effort of the Colonization Society is, with gradual and useful efforts, to bring about a separation of the two races, a result alike beneficial to them both: to restore to Africa her children, taken from her by avarice and cupidity, restored to her by benevolence and liberality; and by means of them to spread her benign influence of Christianity, and the useful institutions of civilization among her native tribes. The patrons of Colonization and the citizens of Liberia desire that the most friendly relations should subsist between the two countries; that commerce should bring to both enriching treasures! They want to send to us their camwood, their palm oil, their ivory, their gums, and their coffee—and they want from us in return our tobacco, and our powder, and the thousand articles which teem from our manufactories.

We say not too much when we speak of Colonization as the great safety valve of this Union! It furnishes to the colored race an opportunity to escape from a country where their condition is the most unhappy. It affords to us an opportunity to repair in some small degree the breaches which we have made upon their race for centuries past; and to offer some slight atonement for the wrongs which we have done them.

The only reasonable objection which can be made to the Society is the smallness of its means. This only shows that the *Government ought to take it up; that government vessels ought to be employed in transporting all who are anxious to go!* That the state governments ought to make annual appropriations for this purpose.

The Hon. R. M. M'LANE said :

It is difficult for any gentleman residing at the seat of the Federal Government, and looking at the great question which agitates the North and the South, not to feel great concern and increasing anxiety as to the result. Every other question seems unavoidably subsidiary to this.

As one of the friends of the A. C. S., I desire to have it distinctly understood at the outset, that I desire to interfere with no vested rights; and yet, that I look to and desire the elevation of the whole colored race and its restoration to all the privileges of civil and social independence on the shores of Africa. I could not stand here and advocate the interest and claims of this Society if I had in view any object subordinate to this.

That we may speak right and be understood right, that we may labor right and stand right in the public estimation, it is important that we should *start right*. I have written the resolution which I have the honor to offer for this very purpose. We regard slavery as a civil institution, regulated by the laws of the States in which it exists. It is no part of our business to interfere with these laws, or with the rights and interests of any body. The Society has never interfered with slavery in any way. It has rigidly adhered to the line of operations laid down in its Constitution. It stands aloof from all agitation—it leaves the laws and institutions as it finds them.

In view of all the agitation which exists in the U. S. on the subject of slavery, the Society has gone and still goes steadily onward in its gentle, constitutional work; laboring, however, under great embarrassments, having been opposed both by the North and South, chained as it were at every step, by the influences of fanaticism on the one hand, and by the ultra slavery notions, that the negro cannot, under any circumstances whatever, be elevated on the other.

Here then, we stand bound by the very Constitution of the Society, not to interfere with the relation of master and slave, in any way whatever. Leaving all civil questions to the persons and powers to which of right they belong.

With this reservation, this definition of our policy and purposes, I am ready to go with the best and the foremost in all wise and prudent efforts looking to the welfare of

the African race! And there has never been any scheme proposed which promises as much as this Society does. I go for it with all my heart and all my influence.

If we look at the missionary character of the Society, we are persuaded it is doing a work for Africa which cannot be done in any other way. If we look at its social influence, we see it doing for the colored people in this country and in Africa, what can never be done otherwise. If we look at it as a civil institution, or rather as aiding the colored people from a political state, we behold through its agency a new Republic, prosperous and happy! There is a grand exhibition of what this Society has done, and can yet do!

Whatever others may do, I am determined to labor on for this cause. Those who have gone before me, have set me a noble example. Maryland stands pledged to this work. Maryland in Liberia is a flourishing colony, planted by an appropriation by the Legislature of Maryland, with Maryland people, and to the honor and glory of the State! I am proud to stand here and tell of what my State has done, to mention her annual appropriation of \$10,000 to the Colonization Society of Maryland—and I wish every State in the Union would do the same! Where is the difficulty? The States have no doubtful powers. At home they are sovereign, they can do what they please—if the free people are a tax, they can help them to a place where they will be MEN. If these 30 States were to vie with each other in this noble work, they would give a practical illustration of this question—a practical demonstration of the success which may be enjoyed!

If we pass now to consider the condition of the African race even in the free States, and to enquire what can be done for them, we shall make the discovery that they are going down lower and lower; even in New York, where so many spires point to Heaven, and such beautiful evidences of civilization smile upon us, who can deny that the race has gone down year after year, politically, socially, and in numbers. On them rests a moral misfortune; there is no power at work to remove it. There is not a citizen of that State that can look at home and not feel and see that the very nature of things is driving the African race down into material misery—hope is gone, and fate rests upon them. And yet in this race, when they are cared for, and placed in different circumstances, hope springs up and life assumes new worth. We then can help them. The free race are in our power.

May I not ask this assembly, may I not ask all here, and every where, who are in the habit of giving, if the charity that is the most pressing, is not that which is presented by this state of things?

I wonder when I see the American people nursing and caring for the Indians in our midst, and the American Legislature making immense appropriations of money to transport them beyond our borders, carrying them away to the beautiful prairies of the west, removing them from contact with our own people, furnishing them with provisions, schools, printing presses, books, bibles, teachers, the plow and the anvil; when I see our government for these purposes appropriating hundreds of thousands annually to elevate this race, I wonder why they should do less for the African race. We have federal power in the one case, why not in the other? Does not philanthropy in the one case call as loudly as in the other? Why then should we not carry them and theirs to the land of their forefathers? This is a work of the nation in which all may unite.

Extract from a letter from the Hon. EDWARD EVERETT, to the Hon. Simon Greenleaf, President of the Society, dated Cambridge, 28th May, 1849.

"I have for many years felt an interest in the subject of African Colonization. In the winter of 1831, the Legislature of Massachusetts passed a resolution, requesting the Senators and Representatives of the Commonwealth in Congress, to lend their efforts in support of the American Colonization Society. I was led at that time to investigate the subject with some care, and I came to the conclusion that the work which the Society had undertaken was of the highest interest and importance; second to no one of the enterprises undertaken by the philanthropy of the age. The views entertained by me at that time, are set forth in a speech before the Society, in the Hall of the House of Representatives at Washington, made on the 16th of January, 1832.

These impressions were renewed and strengthened a few years since, when it became my duty, in another capacity, to maintain the rights and interests of the colony of Liberia, in my official correspondence with the British Government at London.

Since that time, the recognition of the political independence of Liberia, by the leading European powers, is an event well calculated to lead thoughtful persons to contemplate, with new interest, what seems to me one of the most important occurrences of the age—the appearance of a new Republic on the shores of Africa, composed of citizens who by birth are (the greater part of them) our own countrymen; but who will carry to the home of their ancestors, means and facilities for promoting the civilization and Christianization of that continent, which Providence has confided to them, and to them alone.

It is unfortunate for the cause of colonization, that it has been considered mainly in direct connection with the condition of the descendants of Africa in this country. But great as this object is, it seems to me subordinate to a direct operation upon Africa itself; the regeneration of which I cannot but think is the path appointed by Providence for the elevation of the descendants of Africa throughout the world. I am led to the opinion, from all the inquiry I have been able to make, that the difficulty of effecting the regeneration of Africa is exaggerated; that a large part of her population is susceptible of the highest forms of civilization; that the arts of life, as we understand them, already exist in many parts of the continent to a much greater extent than is commonly supposed; that the interior slave trade is the great obstacle which prevents its speedily taking a high place in the family of nations; and that nothing would so effectually remove this cause of demoralization and barbarity, as the introduction of Christianity, and with it the languages, improved arts, and commerce of Europe and America.

These effects have immediately begun to show themselves, wherever the African coast has been colonized from countries disposed in good faith to abolish the slave trade; and I confess I see no other mode for effecting the object."

Extracts from a letter from Commodore STOCKTON to Hon. Daniel Webster, dated March 25th, 1850 :

"Yonder is Africa,' with her one hundred and fifty millions of miserable, degraded, ignorant, lawless, superstitious idolaters. Whoever has stood upon her sands, has stood upon a continent that has geographical and physical peculiarities which belong to no other of the great divisions of the globe. The latter appear, upon the face of them, to have been adapted to draw out the energies of the natives in their inequalities of temperature, soil, and surface, inviting the ingenuity and enterprise of man to overcome them, and in the varieties of their products tempting the interchanges of commerce; thus affording ample encouragement to the progress of civil and social improvement. But Africa is still, as of old, a land of silence and of mystery. Like the interminable dreariness of her own deserts, her moral wastes of mind lie waiting for the approach of influences from abroad. No savage people have ever advanced to a civilized state without intercommunication with others. All the continents of the world have, in their turn, been occupied and civilized by means of colonies; but in no one of them did it appear so inevitably necessary, from a previous examination of circumstances, as in that of Africa. It is plain to the very eye, that Africa is a land to which civilization *must be brought*. The attempt has been made over and over again by devoted missionaries and others to penetrate that land, and seek to impart the blessings of civilization and Christianity to her savage hordes. But the labor has been spent in vain. The white man cannot live in Africa. The annals of the Moravians, of Cape Colony, of Sierra Leone, of Liberia, contain the records of the sacrifice of some of the best men that have lived to grace the pages of any people's history, in the vain attempt to accomplish something for her redemption through the instrumentality of white men. *Who, then, is to do this work?*

Let now any calm, reflecting spectator of the present state of the world be asked to look at Africa, and then, from among the nations point out the people best calculated to do this work—and when his eye falls upon the descendants of the sons of that continent now in America, will he not say, *These are the people appointed for that work?*

Let us not be impatient or presumptuous. These African people are passing to their destiny along the same path which has been trod by other nations, through a mixture of hardship, of endurance, but in a land of light, and amid a civilized society. They are preparing to accomplish a work for their native continent, which no other people in the world can accomplish. Their plain mission is, ultimately to carry the

gifts of society, of religion, of government, to the last remaining continent of the earth—where these blessings are totally unknown. Their work is a great one, as it would seem to be connected essentially with the final and universal triumph of civilization and Christianity, in the world."

At the Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society, on Jan. 16th, 1850, the Hon. HENRY CLAY was elected President of the Society, and the following gentlemen were elected Vice-Presidents;

1. General John H. Cocke, of Virginia.	36. Major Gen. Winfield Scott, of Washington.
2. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts.	37. Rev. A. Alexander, D. D., of N. J.
3. Charles F. Mercer, of Florida.	38. L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey.
4. Rev. Jeremiah Day, D.D., of Conn.	39. James Railey, of Mississippi.
5. Theodore Frelinghuysen, of N. Y.	40. Rev. Geo. W. Bethune, D. D., of Philadelphia.
6. Louis McLane, of Baltimore.	41. Rev. C. C. Cuyler, D. D., of Philadelphia.
7. Moses Allen, of New York.	42. Elliot Cresson, of Philadelphia.
8. General W. Jones, of Washington.	43. Anson G. Phelps, of New York.
9. Joseph Gales, of Washington.	44. Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., of Massachusetts.
10. Right Rev. Wm. Meade, D.D., Bishop of Virginia.	45. Jonathan Hide, of Maine.
11. John McDonogh, of Louisiana.	46. Rev. Beverly Waugh, Bishop of the M. E. Church, Baltimore.
12. Rev. James O. Andrews, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.	47. Rev. Dr. W. B. Johnson, S. C.
13. William Maxwell, of Virginia.	48. Moses Sheppard, Baltimore.
14. Elisha Whittlesey, of Ohio.	49. Bishop McIlvain, of Ohio.
15. Walter Lowrie, of New York.	50. Rev. Dr. Edgar, Nashville, Tenn.
16. Jacob Burnet, of Ohio.	51. Rev. P. Lindsley, D. D., of Tenn.
17. Dr. Stephen Duncan, of Mississippi.	52. Hon. J. R. Underwood, of Kentucky.
18. William C. Rives, of Virginia.	53. Rev. J. J. Janeway, D. D., of N. J.
19. Rev. J. Laurie, D.D., of Washington.	54. H. L. Lumpkin, Esq., Athens, Geo.
20. Rev. Wm. Winans, of Mississippi.	55. James Lennox, of New York.
21. James Boorman, of New York.	56. Bishop Soule, D. D., of Tennessee.
22. Henry A. Foster, of New York.	57. Prof. T. C. Upham, of Maine.
23. Dr. John Ker, of Mississippi.	58. Hon. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio.
24. Robert Campbell, of Georgia.	59. Hon. Thos. W. Williams, of Conn.
25. Peter D. Vroom, of New Jersey.	60. Hon Simon Greenleaf, of Mass.
26. James Garland, of Virginia.	61. Rev. John Early, D. D., of Virginia.
27. Right Hon. Lord Bexley, of London.	62. Rev. Lovick Pierce, of Georgia.
28. Willard Hall, of Delaware.	63. Hon. R. J. Walker, of Mississippi.
29. Right Rev. Bishop Otey, of Tenn.	64. Samuel Gurney, England.
30. Gerard Ralston, of London.	65. Charles McMicken, Esq., Cincinnati, Ohio.
31. Rev. Courtland Van Rensselaer, N. J.	66. John Bell, M'D., Philadelphia, Pa.
32. Dr. Hodgkin, of London.	
33. Rev. E. Burgess, D.D., of Mass.	
34. Thos. R. Hazard, of R. I.	
35. Dr. Thomas Massie, of Virginia.	

EVIDENCE BEFORE THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT IN FAVOR OF LIBERIA.

On 30th April, 1849, the Rev. Mr. MILLER, of Princeton, N. J., was examined before a select committee of the House of Lords, on the African Slave Trade. Upon this testimony, Mr. GERARD RALSTON, of London, makes the following remarks :

"The testimony relates to the origin and cause of settlement on the coast of Africa, the persons composing it, how it has been supported, its influence on the slave trade, its present condition, and future prospects.

Why does Liberia exercise such a wonderful influence in suppressing the slave trade in its neighborhood, whilst the British, French, Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish colonies exercise none whatever? Because Liberia is inhabited by a class of intelligent, christianized American negroes, who have a mortal hatred of the accursed slave traffic, whilst the colony of Sierra Leone is inhabited by recaptured Africans, who are little removed from the state of barbarism and savageness in which they were found when taken out of the slavers by the British cruizers.

Why does Liberia present the most successful example of a black settlement prosperous beyond measure, and likely to become a great empire, on which, however, during its existence of twenty-five years, only £250,000 have been expended, whilst the colony of Sierra Leone, on which millions of pounds have been lavished for more than fifty years, shows no signs of improvement and little prospect of future prosperity? The reason is, that in the first the blacks govern themselves, and are consequently stimulated to every kind of improvement, whilst in the latter the whites are the rulers, between whom and the colored people there is no sympathy or cordiality of feeling—the whites sicken and die, and those that live are glad to get back to England as soon as possible."

The Bishop of Oxford was Chairman of the Committee of the House of Lords, before whom Mr. Miller gave his testimony. Several questions were prepared beforehand, and the witness was fully prepared with the answers, and the result is the most complete and interesting body of evidence respecting the Republic of Liberia, that could be collected. The *questions* will interest the reader not less than the answers.

"The Bishop of Oxford in the Chair. Reverend JOHN MILLER examined.

1. You are a native of the United States?

I am.

2. Are you a resident there?

Yes.

3. You have been sent to England by Mr. Clay, or by the American Colonization Society?

I have not a very formal official connexion with that Society. I am a traveller; and promised on leaving America that I would give information wherever I thought it valuable, and use influence wherever I thought it of any account, in behalf of that Republic; and for that end I received an informal authority from the Colonization Society, signed by Mr. Clay, which I have in my pocket.

4. From what sources is your knowledge of the settlement of Liberia derived?

From two chief sources; one, documentary evidence of the condition of things in Liberia; and the other, personal knowledge of the gradual creation of the Colony by the Society in America.

5. What is the origin of the Colony?

To go back to its earliest origin:—a pious clergyman in one of the Northern States conceived the idea that Africa had a great advantage over the other Pagan nations, in having a large body of her own race in the bosom of civilization, and he conceived the plan of a society to buy a territory for them on the coast of Africa, and to pay their passage over.

6. What were the objects and motives of the founders of the Colony?

Their motives were rather of a mixed character; but the great motive of those who had most to do with the founding of the Colony was the civilization of Africa, and the improvement of the condition of the colored people in the United States.

7. The improvement of the colored people of the United States, in what way?

By transferring them to a position where they would improve and thrive more.

8. What induced them to fix upon the particular coast now called Liberia, for their settlement?

They made inquiries. It was after careful measures to obtain information, and after thinking of other regions, that the conclusion, from the whole, was, that the coast of Western Africa was the most eligible spot. That was recommended to them by the consideration that it would introduce arts and religion into that continent. Besides, they had had the example of Britain at Sierra Leone.

9. In what year was this settlement first effected?

The Society was formed in 1816; the first expedition went out in 1820. Four years elapsed before anything effective was done.

10. Then it has been until the last year in connection with the American Colonization Society, has it?

It has.

11. Supported from America?

Yes.

12. To what number has the population been estimated to increase in that time? what is the present estimate of the population?

The President, in his inaugural address, gives the population at 80,000, according to his best knowledge.

13. Are those 80,000 men who have all been transported from America, or any of them native Africans born on the coast?

By no means all from America; by far the largest part are natives who have been attracted into the Colony.

14. Who have come from their own native tribes in Africa, to settle under the protection of the Colony?

Yes. In the same inaugural address the President speaks of them as persons who have given in their adhesion to the Constitution of the Republic.

15. And settled within its limits?

Yes.

16. How have its present limits been defined?

By repeated purchases and treaties.

17. From Native powers?

Yes. In further explanation of the origin of the Liberian Colony, I will hand in a paper extracted from the American Christian Record.

The same is read, as follows:

The American Colonization Society was organized in the City of Washington, in December, 1816, by patriotic and benevolent gentlemen from various parts of the country. The object of the Society, as expressed in the Constitution, is 'to promote and execute a plan for colonizing with their own consent, the free people of color residing in our own country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem expedient.' The principles which influenced its founders, and which continue to actuate the sincere colonizationists, are embraced in the following specifications: viz., First, To rescue the free colored people of the United States from their political and social disadvantages. Second, To place them in a country where they may enjoy the benefits of a free Government, with all the blessings which it brings in its train. Third, To afford slave owners, who may wish to liberate their slaves, an asylum for their reception. Fourth, To arrest and destroy the African Slave Trade. Fifth, To spread civilization, sound morals and true religion throughout the Continent of Africa. How far the Society has been successful in carrying out its philanthropic and benevolent principles may be judged from the following facts. The first company of emigrants was sent out by the Society in 1820, and located at Sherbro', while a settlement had been formed by the enterprize of a single black man from New England. Land was purchased, and a colony formed on this barbarous coast, dependent on the skill and energy of one man, who was encouraged by the favor of only a few friends in this country. In 1824 the Colony was placed under a regular form of government. Since that time its progress has been onward; and this dependent and feeble Colony is now supplanted by the independent Republic of Liberia. The Society and its auxiliaries, amidst all the difficulties with which they have been surrounded, have sent over 7,101 emigrants. The whole number now under the jurisdiction of the Republic, according to the computation of their President in his last message, is 80,000. Of the emigrants from this country, at the close of the year 1843, 1,687 were free born; 97 purchased their freedom, and 2,290 were emancipated with a view of going to Liberia; and at this time the total number of deaths in the Colony had been 2,198. The deaths in Liberia, according to the report of the Colonial Physician, who went from Baltimore, were, in 1842, proportionally less than in this country, being three per cent. at Cape Palmas, the most Southern point, while it is four per cent. in Baltimore. Since 1842, the number of deaths has been decreasing, while the population is increasing. All the facts connected with the Colony show distinctly that Liberia is the black man's country. The territory already extends 320 miles

along the coast, and from twenty to fifty toward the interior. The Slave Trade has been arrested on this coast, and the nations beyond the limits of the Republic are participating in the privileges of their schools and missionary operations.

18. What is the extent of Liberia ?

Between 320 and 350 miles.

19. But is not there an intermediate piece included in that, of about 40 miles, which does not belong to the settlement ?

They have purchased now all the positions on which there is any slaving carried on, and all the territory, except some very small patches, amounting in all now to about 20 miles in length on the coast.

20. What is the shape of the Liberian Territory ?

It is a strip along the coast ; the mean width of which is about 40 miles.

21. The depth from the coast is 40 miles ?

Yes.

22. What has induced them to adopt that particular shape of territory ?

Principally a wish to suppress the Slave Trade ; their recent purchases have been all ruled by that motive.

23. Why are they so anxious to suppress the Slave Trade ?

From a sense of interest to the Republic, and to carry out the wishes of its founders.

24. In what way do you imagine it to promote the interests of the Republic ?

A trade is springing up in place of the Slave Trade, of which the Republic reaps the advantage.

25. Have they reason to think that the two trades, the Slave Trade and the other trade, are hostile to one another, and could not co-exist ?

I think so ; besides, there is another motive, their national dangers, such as they are, are connected with the Slave Trade ; they have been put in peril by the Slave Trade from attacks which it has instigated on the part of the Natives.

26. Have they had to maintain any war with any of the Native tribes ?

They have, in the early history of the Colony, and very dangerous wars ; but they are decreasing.

27. What are their provisions for defence ?

A militia, and a small sailing force.

28. How is the militia organized ?

It is a volunteer force, entirely organized by the Government of the Republic ; but they are at no other expense for it than to furnish arms and accoutrements, except when in actual service.

29. Do you know what number of men it comprises ?

I do not.

30. Are they all armed ?

As far as I know ; my impression is that it embraces all the adult male population among the emigrants.

33. Has the Slave Trade been brought actually to an end upon the whole coast of Liberia ?

I suppose it would be safe to say that only one slaving station remains, and there is a strong probability that by this time that has been essentially broken up. Your Lordships know that the territory was settled by numerous petty tribes ; and the purchases have been very numerous, and some of them very recent ; so that the breaking up of the Slave Trade on the part lately purchased has been very recent ; and in one case, perhaps, it would be safest to say imperfect, not yet complete.

34. By what means has the Slave Trade been expelled from the Liberia coast ? has it been by force ?

I suppose four reasons may be given : first, that the natives show a considerable sense of obligation by their Treaties.

35. Do you mean Treaties to put down the Slave Trade ?

Treaties selling their lands ; Treaties by which they made over the lands which the colonists had purchased ; secondly, that the militia force of the Republic, with the small armed vessels, have heretofore been able to take possession of and break up the slaving stations : thirdly, that the natives in very frequent cases, have felt it to be their interest to be protected from the Slave Trade ; they have found their tribes wasting by it, and they have gathered round the Colony as a means of shelter ; fourthly, that their taste for the luxuries of civilized life has been supplied by a more legitimate trade.

36. Do the colonists hold their land by title-deeds granted by the Native Chieftains ?
They do.

37. What sort of price have they paid for the land ?

There is a rough estimate that the land has cost them about 133 dollars per mile in length along the coast : I have the papers here ; the deeds of sale mentioning the price in a large number of instances.

38. What is the revenue arising from America ?

Their revenue last year, or I should rather say the whole revenue of the Society, has been 50,000 dollars, that is about 10,000*l.*; but a large part of that is spent in agencies in the United States, in distributing documents, in securing favor for the enterprise ; so that part only of that sum goes to the Colony in the purchase of territory, and paying the passage of emigrants.

39. From what means do they support their cruisers ?

The Government supports the cruisers ; they are very small, and very imperfect ; the whole expense of the Government is paid now by duties and monopolies, and one or two narrow sources of revenue.

40. You said that they destroyed the slave stations ; do you mean barracoons and places of that description, where slaves are kept for sale ?

Yes.

41. Are those situated on the territory of the Republic, or on the territory of neighboring States ?

They buy the territory, and then break up the barracoons.

42. They begin by buying the territory ?

Yes ; they never have interfered and broken up the barracoons till after the purchase of the territory.

43. How far have Christian missions co-operated in bringing the Natives into the Colony ?

Christian missions, distinctly so called, have had very little to do with it ; the pastors that the colonists themselves support of their little churches have had a good deal to do with it : but there has been a wonderful mortality among the white missions. I have brought together in a paper some very conclusive testimonies to that effect ; they have been wasted away remarkably. On this subject I will hand in an extract from the 25th Annual Report of the Vermont Colonization Society.

The same is read, as follows :

During the 400 years under review, frequent attempts were made to establish Christian missions, but they all failed. The Portuguese Roman Catholics began a mission at Elmina in 1482 ; their stations were numerous along the whole coast ; but they made no impression, except upon their immediate dependants. Protestant missions were commenced by the Moravians in 1736, and continued till 1770 ; five attempts cost 11 lives, and effected nothing. English attempts have been numerous, but unavailing. That of Captain Beaver, at Bulama Island, in 1792, failed in two years, with the loss of more than 100 lives. The mission to the Foulahs in 1795, found insuperable obstacles to success, and returned home without commencing its labors. The three stations commenced by the London, Edinburgh and Glasgow Societies in 1797, were extinct in three years, and five of the six missionaries dead. The Church Missionary Society sent out a company of missionaries in 1804, and attempted to maintain 10 stations ; but the hostility of the Natives, who preferred the Slave Traders to them, compelled them to take refuge in the colony of Sierra Leone, where, under the protection of a colony, they could labor with safety and hope. Since the settlement of Liberia, attempts to sustain missions without colonial protection have repeatedly been made, but they have failed in every instance, except the mission at the Gaboon river, which was established in 1842, as to the fate of which, time must decide. The missionaries sent to Africa hitherto have been mostly white men ; but it is capable of proof, and has been shown by Governor Pinney, that the average missionary life of white missionaries in Africa has been less than two years and a half, while that of colored laborers, even from this country, has been 10 or 12 times as long.

44. Have they any colored missionaries ?

Yes ; their pastors now are colored men.

45. Mr. Roberts, the present President, is a colored man ?

He is.

46. Was Mr. Roberts formerly a slave ?

I have heard it stated ; but I think he was not.

47. But he was an emigrant from America ?

He was a colored boy of 18, engaged in the trade of a barber in the States.

48. From what part of the Union did he come ?

From Virginia ; his cultivation, and his ability as a diplomatist, he has got in Liberia.

49. By what power was he raised to the chief place in Liberia ?

First, as Governor by the Society, and then voted in by his fellow-citizens as President.

50. What gives the right to vote in Liberia ?

I have the constitution here ; it is a brief instrument, which I will put in—[*the same was delivered in*]—My impression is, that every citizen of a certain age has a right to vote.

51. Of what class chiefly are the emigrants from America ?

Chiefly emancipated slaves.

52. At whose expense have they gone, at the expense of the Society, at their own expense, or at that of their masters ?

In all ways ; chiefly, however, at the expense of the Society.

53. How is it possible that men who go out in the condition of just emancipated slaves should be capable of the work of civilization which you attribute to them on the coast of Africa ?

I would mention, first, the fact, that in thirty years' experience they have been elevated ; they do rise in the scale of civilization. But then, I think, it is very important to state that they are emancipated generally by conscientious masters ; and on that very account and in that very connexion they have been under a good deal of training.

54. Where did they get their men to act as their President, their Congress, their Judges, and their professional men at their first starting as a Republic ?

They have been chiefly made upon the soil ; they are the growth of Liberia. Some of the more enterprising have re-visited the United States to get instruction.

55. That is to say they are emancipated slaves from the United States, who in Liberia have shown superior ability, and have been raised there to those posts ?

Most of them have been emancipated slaves ; and nearly all of them have been raised in character in Liberia.

56. You mention that they came from all parts of the Union ; is that so ?

From all parts.

57. Have as many come from the Southern States as from the Northern ?

More from the Southern States than from the Northern.

58. What is the system used in sending them over ?

The Society is at the expense of 50 dollars for each person ; and that 50 dollars pays their passage and supports them six months through the acclimating fever with food and medical attendance and shelter in houses after they get to Liberia.

59. You say 'the acclimating fever,' is that almost universal ?

Almost universal.

60. With the black as well as the white ?

Yes, though unspeakably less severe.

61. Is it in many cases fatal to the black emigrants from America ?

The returns of statistics show a mortality of 3 per cent. under the African fever ; though this is an improvement ; it was once greater ; they have learned to treat the fever more skilfully.

62. But it is universally passed through ?

Nearly in every case.

63. Does that deter any Africans in America from wishing to go ?

I think it does ; they are fictitious objections that many of them have.

73. Has the Society had to buy slaves from their masters, with a view to their being sent to Liberia ?

In no instance.

74. Does it export females as well as males ?

Households—families.

75. Is there any rule as to the proportion of the sexes to be so exported ?

No ; but if it were seen that a disproportion of males were going, it would be considered by the Society a decided evil.

76. Is the prejudice against the colonization *decreasing* among the black race ?

Decidedly ; they have sent over, in many instances, agents to examine Liberia,

who have returned with favorable reports, which have led to a number of free colored people paying their own passage over.

77. After reaching the Colony, how are they provided for?

There are houses belonging to the Society provided for their shelter, and rations are measured out to them till they can get upon their farms, and support themselves, and a farm of a certain number of acres is given to each emigrant.

78. What do they raise upon those farms?

They raise yams and cassada. If your lordships will allow, I will, however, give a statement from one of their own newspapers, edited by a colored man: "The Liberia Herald." "For the information of friends who are constantly asking in regard to the productions of Liberia, we have thought proper to give a list of such animals, fruits and vegetables, as are in general use with us in their appropriate seasons;" and then follows the list.—"Domesticated: Cows, bullocks, swine, sheep, goats, ducks, fowls, pigeons, turkeys (few).—Wild: Deer of different kinds in abundance, red, black, brown and grayish; partridges, pigeons, goats, cows, doves, hedge-hogs, red squirrels, summer ducks, rice birds, ground doves, &c.—Fruit: Water melon, musk melon, mango plums, oranges, rose apples, sour sop, guava, tamarind, plantain, bananas, granadilla, limes, lemons.—Fish: Scaled and shell; mullet, whiting, perch, bream, pike, baracouta, mackerel, cursalli, herring, drum, catfish, grippers, oysters, crabs, carp, sun.—Vegetables: Sweet potatoes, arrowroot, turnips, carrots, shilote, cymblain, chiota, paupau, Lima beans, ochra, peas, radishes, beets, cabbages, snaps, cucumbers, greens, salads, cassavas, yams, corn (maize)."

79. What other sources of wealth have they?

They trade with the natives in ebony, ivory and gold, in small quantities.

80. Is there any palm oil trade?

Palm oil also; and camwood is also an important article.

81. What is it which has principally taken the place of the Slave Trade as a source of profit?

Dye woods, and these other articles of trade with the natives.

82. What are the present staples of Liberia?

The staples of Liberia may be considered the articles I have mentioned, in connection with coffee, which, probably, will become the great staple of Liberia. They are setting out plantations, coffee-trees in large numbers, and some of the coffee has already been consigned to America, and been sold. A standing advertisement in the Liberia paper offers 15 cents a pound for it. The British traders along the coast are buying it. "Coffee will, doubtless, become one of the most valuable productions of Liberia; it requires but little care or labor in its cultivation. At three years old the trees frequently begin to yield; at four years old they give the cultivator a handsome income; 12 lbs. to the tree is an average crop."

83. How much is 15 cents in English money?

Seven pence half-penny. This is a proof of the estimation in which it is held by British traders along that coast.

103. Is the Sugar cane cultivated in any part of Liberia?

Not to any extent; there is this difficulty, that the sugar requires expensive machinery, and on that account it is not, relatively to other productions, profitable.

104. Is the climate favorable to it?

Yes; they grow sugar cane with ease there. I have here an extract from the Liberian Herald upon that subject. "Mr. Cyrus Willis, of Millsburg, has made this season more than 3,000 pounds of beautiful sugar, and a quantity of excellent syrup. Owing to a severe accident which befel Mr. Willis just as he was ready to commence grinding, and which kept him in his bed several weeks, he was unable to manufacture all of his large field of cane, and which lessens considerably the quantity of sugar and syrup he expected to make. From the quantity of beautiful cane he had, it was supposed that it would yield easily 8,000 pounds of sugar, and a considerable quantity of syrup."

111. Have you any evidence as to the moral state of Liberia?

We have letters from officers of the navy who have visited the coast, and other documents, showing that in very many respects the morality of Liberia is remarkable. That the attention paid to the Sabbath is singularly great; and that in respect to temperance, the morals of the Colony are very high.

112. Have there been any provisions made for education in Liberia?

By the law of the State every parent must educate his children; and there are a number of schools provided for that purpose.

113. You were asked about laws about the Slave Trade; have the people of Liberia recently manifested any special disposition with regard to the Slave Trade?

They have by the Acts of their Legislature, and they have, in the steps which they have taken to purchase additional territory, shown a decided wish to break up the Slave Trade; and their legislation has very anxiously been directed to that object.

114. Have you any testimony from the emigrants themselves as to the moral and religious state of the Colony?

Yes; I will put in some brief evidence of that kind, consisting of an extract from the Declaration of Independence.

The same is delivered in, and is as follows:

Thus far our highest hopes have been realized.

Liberia is already the happy home of thousands, who were once the doomed victims of oppression; and, if left unmolested to go on with her natural and spontaneous growth, if her movements be left free from the paralysing intrigues of jealous, ambitious and unscrupulous avarice, she will throw open a wider and yet a wider door for thousands, who are now looking with an anxious eye for some land of rest.

Our courts of justice are open equally to the stranger and the citizen for the redress of grievances, for the remedy of injuries, and for the punishment of crime.

Our numerous and well-attended schools attest our efforts and our desire for the improvement of our children.

Our churches, for the worship of our Creator, everywhere to be seen, bear testimony to our piety, and to our acknowledgement of His providence.

The native African, bowing down with us before the altar of the living God, declare that from us, feeble as we are, the light of Christianity has gone forth, while upon that curse of curses, the Slave Trade, a deadly blight has fallen, as far as our influence extends.

[*Witness.*] In reference to the morals of the Colony, I will add also this very distinct statement:

By an authentic document, in the nature of a report, rendered this year to the Boston Union, for the relief and improvement of the colored race, we are enabled to run a statistical parallel between the people of the Colony of Liberia in Africa, and the free people of color in the city of Boston in America. In Liberia more than one in every four of the inhabitants are church members: in Boston less than one in every seven of the colored people are church members. In Liberia there are 580 pledged members of Temperance Societies: in Boston there is not one, as appears from the tabular view. In Liberia every child of sufficient age, of the families of the colonists, was regular at school: in Boston the proportion was so small, and so uncertain, as to be really not comparable. In Boston a primary school for colored children had to be discontinued for want of scholars: in Liberia fifteen schools (1837) could not satisfy the people, clamorous for the education of themselves and their offspring. In Liberia the inhabitants support, both by their pecuniary and by their literary contributions, an ably conducted paper; they can not only generally read, but can generally write and compose in a correct and manly style, as our quotations therefrom abundantly testify. In Boston a majority of all classes of them attend public worship very irregularly: in Liberia the people are a peculiarly church-going people.

117. What is it that has kept Liberia, in fact, from spreading faster?

A lack of money.

118. Any thing else?

At an earlier period a lack of emigrants; but now the willingness to emigrate is very much beyond the means of the Society to buy territory, and send them over.

119. Would there be money found in America to send them over, if there were a larger territory for them?

There would be much more money reserved to send them over, if the purchase of territory could be looked after in some other way.

120. But the territory is not fully occupied yet, is it?

No; so much territory has been purchased for an object connected with the suppression of the Slave Trade; they have gone further than their immediate wants, so far as homes for the emigrants were concerned, in order to suppress the Slave Trade.

121. Do you know how many acres they give to each emigrant?

They give five acres; more for each child, and then sell at one dollar an acre as much more as he will buy.

122. Then, what you require funds for now is, to provide means of passage for the emigrants ?

Funds are needed for two objects; if we extend the Colony upon the coast, to buy more territory, and to pay the passage of more emigrants.

123. Can emigrants of a suitable kind be had to any indefinitely large extent ?

I think that question may be answered in the affirmative. A letter was received in London within the last three weeks, saying that assurances had been given in Washington, that 10,000 emancipated slaves could be obtained if the Society would furnish the means of sending them.

124. Could be obtained from whom, from their masters ?

From their masters ; that there was a sufficient number of masters interested in the Colony, and conscientiously willing to manumit their slaves, to furnish the number of 10,000 ; evidence was laid before members during the late meeting at Washington of a sufficient kind to satisfy the mind of the writer of that letter.

125. At what length do the Americans estimate the Slave Trading Coast of Western Africa ?

I have seen various estimates, making about 4,000 miles the length of the Slave Trading Coast.

126. Do you mean on the west coast alone, or taking west and east ?

On the west coast alone. I have here an extract from the First Annual Report of the Illinois State Colonization Society : " The whole Slave Trading Coast of Western Africa is estimated at 4,000 miles, which, if in the market at $133\frac{1}{3}$ dollars a mile, the estimated value of the tract which the American Colonization Society is now attempting to purchase, would cost 533,333 dollars ; the expense, including interest on the first cost for two years, of our squadron of 80 guns, which the United States is bound, by the Ashburton Treaty, to keep on the African Coast, for the suppression of the Slave Trade, is 613,272 dollars, being enough to buy the whole 4,000 miles, and leave a surplus of 79,939 dollars, while the annual expense of the British squadrons employed in watching the Slave Trade for several years past has been estimated at about two millions and a half of dollars."

127. Have the colonists in Liberia found any difficulty at present in extending their frontier ?

They have found difficulty, but they have never entirely failed in making the purchases that they wanted.

128. What average price have they given per mile ?

About 133 dollars per mile in length along the coast.

129. Is it probable that they could easily buy 350 miles more of territory at the same price which they have given for what they have purchased ?

I think so, from their past experience, if the *European ports and settlements* should not prevent. In their negotiations they were subject to some difficulty from the traders. As soon as it was known that they wanted land, efforts were made by the traders to prevent their getting it; but they succeeded, by watching their opportunity, and by repeated negociaction, in effecting all the important purchases.

130. Would not there be danger to the Colony if they were to extend their territory along the coast at present ?

There might seem some reason to fear it; but they have been able heretofore, when they have been weaker than they probably will be, they have been able in their weakest condition to repel the attacks of the natives; and they are stronger by far in their position now than they ever were. There have been remarkable dispositions on the part of the native tribes to cluster about them, and to come within the rule of the Colony.

131. If any power like Great Britain were to form a treaty with them for putting down the Slave Trade on a certain extent of coast, and as a condition of that were to grant them a *subsidiary, for instance*, towards the expense of acquiring the coast, would they be willing to do that ?

They would rejoice in an offer of that kind. It might be made of a gradual character. It might be a kind of premium per mile offered to the Colony for possessing itself of the coast, and breaking up the Slave Trade.

132. But is it not the fact, that, except at particular points of the coast, there is no

Slave Trade carried on ; except where there are creeks, and in rivers where they can ship the slaves conveniently ?

Those are the most dangerous places, but the Slave Trade has shown itself moveable ; when it has been broken up at one point, it has in repeated instances taken refuge in others, and it seems necessary to occupy the whole of the coast in order to protect the Colony at those exposed places.

133. How far is it from the frontiers of the Colony to the Gallinas ?

I do not know the exact distance. It is estimated that if the territory between Liberia and Sierra Leone, on which the Gallinas is found, were purchased and occupied by the Colony, the whole line of civilized coast would then be over 700 miles, including Sierra Leone.

134. What is the name of the slave factory which has been lately purchased ?

New Cesters : that is to the south of Cape Mesurado, a point that was very much infested by slave traders.

135. That is as far to the south of the Colony as Gallinas is to the north of it ?

Yes.

136. You say that the native tribes come in for protection ; in what position are the natives who join the Colony ; are they admitted as parts of the Colony in any way ?

The natives who have joined the Colony have done so frequently by Treaty ; they have bound themselves to abstain from the Slave Trade, and, on the other hand, have asked as a stipulation from the Colony that they would furnish the means of education, and protect them in different ways. I will give in some Treaties of that kind. Governor Russwurm, the able colored chief magistrate of the Maryland settlement of Cape Palmas, who recently arrived in Baltimore, in the "Liberia Packet," stated, "that six Kings of various tribes, to the leeward, owning territory along the coast for fully 100 miles in length, and extending a considerable distance into the interior, had, after repeated and earnest solicitations to purchase, but always refused on account of the limited means at his disposal for such an object, actually met, united together, and made a formal cession, without fee or reward, of their entire land, and the privileges thereof, to the same for ever (binding themselves as is usual in all similar Treaties, to abstain from participating directly or indirectly in the Slave Trade, under penalty of death,) so that they might be under the jurisdiction and protection of the laws and customs of the Colony. Previously to this, a French man-of-war had visited them, in order to enter into a treaty of commerce, promising them the friendship and high consideration of the (then) Kingdom of France, but to no effect ; they could not be induced to enter into the proposed foreign alliance. Another example was, that of Ballasada, King of the Goulah people, a tribe of about 50,000 strong, situated about 150 miles up the St. Paul's river. These people had left their own towns, and moved down the river in close proximity to the American settlements, so that they might be under the healthy influence of the Republic of Liberia, and secure from the wars of the neighboring tribes, made often upon each other, in order to procure victims to supply the demand of the accursed traffic in flesh and blood. Again, so anxious were the natives for missionaries, Sabbath and public day-school teachers, that several Kings and Princes had sent to the Colony repeatedly for, as they call them, 'God man and Book man,' to come among them, and teach their people, that they might become 'white men, same like you.' One of these Kings has so far manifested his renewed requests to be sincere, that he built, at his own expense, a large and comfortable church and school-house, and was anxiously awaiting the arrival of the long looked-for 'Merica man.'"

145. You have intended to convey to the Committee, that by some such subsidizing Treaty the objects of Great Britain as to putting down the Slave Trade might be obtained at a much less cost of life and money ?

Yes, the whole expense of Liberia, for all that has been done from the very outset, has been not yet £200,000, about 800,000 dollars.

146. The purchase of land hardly exceeds £10,000, does it ?

No.

147. Can you give the Committee any facts which show that Liberia has practically an advantage over other civilized *settlements* in Africa for putting down the Slave Trade ?

In the first place, it is now by far the largest in respect to acutally acquired territory ; but the most important advantage that it seems to have, is the emigration that it can look to from America ; and America seems to be the only part of the world now that

can supply freely that kind of Christian emigration which is needed for settlements in Africa.

148. Is the mind of the American emancipated slaves found to be of that order that would fit them to become legislators, governors, and so forth, in that country?

After the preparation that they may have in Liberia, experience thus far has proved that it is.

149. Is there any academy or college in Liberia?

No college; there are schools that have been established; they have some incipient measures for a college, but none has been established yet.

150. Is there anything which shows that Liberia is likely to become an indigenous power, not supported by foreign aid?

Yes; there is a tendency on the part of free people of color in the United States to go there, paying their own passage.

151. Is that increasing?

It is increasing; and there are natural causes at work, which promise that immigration will pour over there in the end, just as from Ireland now to America; there have entered America, during the last year, from Europe, over 300,000 souls, from the influence of just those causes which are beginning more and more to be felt by the colored people in the United States, in inducing them to go to Liberia; Liberia is becoming daily more attractive.

152. Can you state to the Committee any reason why the Liberian Settlement has taken a greater hold upon Africa than the Settlement of Sierra Leone, connected as it is with England itself?

I think the most evident reason is, that Liberia has this source of christian colonization, which is constantly pouring in settlers; whereas, on the other hand, Sierra Leone has been made chiefly by re-captured Africans, who were not christians, and were just fresh from the coast.

155. What is the face of the country of Liberia; is it mountainous?

It is undulating; and back from the shore there are hills.

156. What is the height of them?

I can hardly venture to say.

157. Is it intersected by various rivers and streams?

Small rivers.

158. Is there sufficient moisture?

The state of the climate and of the soil, as regards cultivation, is certainly very fine; there are two crops per annum of many of the more nutritious roots and other productions; and really one temptation of the emigrants is the ease with which, by scratching the soil, and putting in the roots or the seed, they can secure the means of living; the soil is certainly fertile; on this subject of climate, I will hand in an extract of a letter from Dr. Lugenbeel.

The same was read, as follows:

'In regard to the climate, I may say that it is altogether very pleasant. The temperature is exceedingly uniform, and the warmth of the atmosphere is generally much less than I have frequently experienced in the District of Columbia. I have scarcely ever known the mercury in the thermometer to rise above 86 degrees; the extreme limits may be set down at 72 and 87 degrees of Fahrenheit; I have never known the mercury to sink below the former, nor to rise above the latter number. The variation in the heat, as indicated by the thermometer, is seldom more than four or five degrees during the 24 hours of a day.'

There is, properly, no real distinction in regard to seasons; but as more rain falls during the half of the year beginning with May than during the other half beginning with November, the former is usually called the wet or rainy season, and the latter the dry season; there is not, however, any month during the whole year in which we do not have more or less rain, nor is there any month in which we do not have some fine, clear weather. I have seen garden vegetables perishing for the want of rain during the months of July and August, and I have seen pretty copious showers of rain during the months of January and February: during what is called the rainy season, the temperature of the atmosphere is generally 5 or 6 degrees less than during the dry season; the thermometer usually standing at from 76 to 80 degrees during the day in the rainy season, and from 80 to 86 degrees in the dry season.

159. Are there any whites now residing in Liberia?

Very few ; the physician is a white man ; but a colored man, a brother of the President, is preparing to take his place.

160. Where has he been educated ?

In the United States.

161. Do you know whether there are any white men now in England who have been living in the Colony at all ?

There are none that I now think of.

162. Is there any difference of conditions among the people, or are they all small cultivators ?

There is some wealth amongst the people. There are differences in their condition. Some are traders, and some have what for Liberia might be called a fortune already.

163. What is a Liberian fortune ?

I suppose 2,000*l.*; \$10,000.

164. How has that been accumulated ?

By trade.

165. When they have so accumulated it, do they show a disposition to remain there, or to quit the country ?

Decidedly to remain. There is a wonderful expression of that feeling in all the letters they have written ; a thankfulness that they ever went to Liberia, and a thorough resolution to remain. I will put in an address from the Colonists to the free people of color in the United States, in which they express their views and feelings in regard to going there.

166. Are there laborers who work for those who have capital, for pay ?

Yes. One means of elevating the natives is by bringing them into the households of the emigrants, and on their farms as servants.

167. Has that been practically carried to any extent.

To a considerable extent.

168. Have any of those who are merely laborers in Liberia emigrated from America, or are the laborers entirely the native population ?

Many of those who have emigrated from America are as yet mere laborers.

169. Do you know what wages able-bodied men get, upon the average ?

I do not. There are notices among these papers of the want of mechanics of different kinds, and that they could secure high wages if they would go to Liberia.

170. Are Kroomen employed at Liberia ?

There are Kroomen on the territory of Liberia ; they seem to prefer being employed on the ships of war off the coast, and other ships that sail in ; but in some instances they are employed in other ways.

171. Have you ever heard of colored men who have emigrated from America to Liberia being dissatisfied with their position in Liberia, and returning to the United States ?

There have been cases of persons dissatisfied with their position, but very rarely ; and though the packet is running constantly, cases of permanent return are much rarer still.

172. When the Liberians make a purchase of land, what do they do ; do they send a colony there to occupy it ?

Not regularly ; the colonists who land at Monrovia, or at any point on the coast, distribute themselves as they please, in different parts of the territory ; and on the other hand, new territory that is purchased is occupied indiscriminately by emigrants removing from the position that they before held, or by new emigrants, as the case may be.

173. Does not it occur to the Society that if they extend very much the line of coast occupied by the Liberians, without extending proportionately the means of occupation of that territory, they are not carrying their purpose into effect ?

It is the judgment of the Society, and their experience as far as they have gone, that it is safer to bear that inconvenience of length of territory, rather than the inconvenience of such a close neighborhood of slave traders ; that they gain by breaking up the Slave Trade.

174. How do they effect the breaking up of the Slave Trade ; if they send no population and no force, how do they expel the Slave Trade from the territory they purchase ?

They expel it by sending the militia force, and by the use of a naval force ; their

own and any that may help them on the coast; and they do occupy those territories in a number of instances.

175. And they break up the slave barracoons?

Yes.

176. Is the health of the imported blacks good, after passing through the acclimating fever?

It is thought now by the Physician, Dr. Lugenbeel, that after the acclimating fever is thoroughly passed, the climate has proved itself fully as favorable, if not more favorable to the constitution of the black man, than the climate which he leaves in America.

177. Have they any towns either occupied or laid out in the territory of Liberia?

Besides Monrovia, the other ports are Marshall on the Junk River, Edina on the St. John's River, Basso Cove and Greenville on the Sinou River. The more inland towns, and their adjoining settlements, are Caldwell, New Georgia, Millsburg and Bexley, called after Lord Bexley.

178. Those are regularly cleared and built upon as towns?

Yes; Edina is called after Edinburg; that city assisted in the emigration.

179. Is there any harbor in Liberia?

There is Monrovia, which is the harbor used for shipping. The other ports, Marshall on the Junk River, Edina on the St. John's River, and Basso Cove and Greenville on the Sinou River, are all ports which can be entered by vessels of some tonnage.

Extract of a Letter from Sir CHAS. HOTHAM to the Secretary of the British Admiralty, dated "Penelope," at St. Helena, 7th April, 1847.

"Before I conclude my observations on the northern part of the Coast, I wish to call their Lordships' attention to the Colony of Liberia. On perusing the correspondence of my predecessors, I found a great difference of opinion existing as to the views and objects of the settlers; some even accusing the Governor of lending himself to the slave trade. After discussing the whole subject with officers and others best qualified to judge on the matter, I not only have satisfied my own mind that there is no reasonable cause for such a suspicion, but further, that this establishment merits all the support we can give it. Their views may or may not tend to the increase of territory, but so long as they observe their present system of government, both humanity and civilization are directly interested in their progress. It is only through their means that we can hope to improve the African race, for commerce unaided may sharpen the wits, but will not raise the negro above his present standard. On the ability of Governor Roberts, their Lordships will best form an opinion by a perusal of his dispatch under date of the 10th December, 1846."

THE COMING CHANGE IN ANTI-SLAVE TRADE MOVEMENTS.

From the London Spectator.

ECONOMY will now enforce those arguments that prove the utterly useless and mischievous character of the West African blockade, and signs are not wanted of the next turn which opinion on that subject is destined to take.

Lieutenant W. T. F. Jackson, who has just returned from the coast, promulgated through the columns of the *Times* his clear and direct testimony to the futility of the attempt to keep down the slave trade by a blockade or any other form of armed prevention.

Viewing the slave traffic merely as an illicit trade, which government vessels have to suppress, it is a well known axiom in our custom house that any contraband trade yielding 30 per cent. cannot be stopped; for such is human nature, that individuals will always be found willing to risk the severest punishment for that amount of profit. Are the philanthropists in England aware of the profit of a single slave? The average price of a slave on the coast is a doubloon, or 3*l.* 8*s.*, supposing that a slave is paid

for in coin instead of goods, which form generally the greatest part of the purchase—then there is profit on profit again. This slave, on being landed in the Brazils, is, since our blockade, worth from 50*l.* to 70*l.*, leaving a per centage, after all deductions of goods and agency, far, far above the custom house standard. A few years ago, a slave merchant made a considerable profit if one vessel in three landed her cargo. Now owing to the large force we maintain on the coast, they have been able to raise their prices, so that if a merchant has six vessels on the venture, and one escapes, he is amply repaid.

Mr. Jackson suggests, that instead of throwing away three millions sterling a year on the blockade, we should increase our colonies and spread our influence among the African chiefs.

Formerly, during Governor Turner's time, we held the sovereignty from Sierra Leone to Gallinas; but owing to some false economy, we withdrew our protection and lost our authority. I would rather hold up Liberia as an example to our government than offer my own remarks; the Americans have established a colony, and from that spread north and south from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, between which places slavery is now hardly known. When we look upon this handful of people, unprotected by their own government, alone and unaided, and consider what they have done, I think we may well blush at the futility of our own efforts.

It is through the West Indies, that Africa has the best chance of civilization. That you can do so by any process of converting the African chiefs, is hopeless; you have no channel to reach their understanding or their heart. But by developing our colonies on the coast, we might so extend our example and influence as to Anglicize Western Africa. Now that operation would be incalculably assisted by the help of the West Indies, a training school for the negro; who might be invited, by many advantageous plans, to return to his native continent as a settler.

Extract from the remarks of Mr. RANDALL, in the Ohio Legislature, on March 12th, 1850, on the American Squadron on the Coast of Africa:

Mr. Randall from the committee on Federal Relations, reported back the preamble and resolutions offered by him some time since in relation to the policy of the American Government in maintaining a squadron on the African coast for the suppression of the slave trade, and recommending that the means now required to sustain said squadron be employed in promoting the colonization of the coast as the best means of putting a stop to the traffic.

The committee recommended the adoption of the preamble and resolutions, and, after an amendment of the preamble, the whole were adopted.

Mr. Randall in making the report remarked as follows:

It will be remembered, that at an early period in the history of our government, the slave trade was carried on to such an alarming extent on the coast of Africa, that it aroused the indignation, and called the attention of Congress to the subject. At length a law was passed by Congress declaring the slave trade carried on on the coast of Africa, piracy, and punishable by death, if any American citizen engaged in it.

In order the more effectually to check and put an end to this God-forbidden commerce, the United States, as well as several other nations, resolved to keep up a blockade on the African coast, for the purpose of seizing all vessels engaged in that inhuman and barbarous traffic. The United States furnished three sloops of war for that purpose, and continued them there.

In the year 1846 the captures of slavers, as stated by the London Anti-Slavery Reporter, were as follows:

By British cruisers,	- - - - -	40
" French "	- - - - -	12
" Portuguese "	- - - - -	10
" American "	- - - - -	2

None have since been captured by our vessels until 1849, when report says that four vessels engaged in that traffic were captured by our squadron.

From the above it is obvious that the object of the blockade has not been accomplished, and to continue our vessels there is almost a useless expenditure of the public money.

Extracts from a Lecture on African Colonization, delivered 19th Jan., 1849, in the Hall of the House of Representatives of Ohio, by DAVID CHRISTY, Esq., Agent of the American Colonization Society, shewing THE EXTENT OF THE SLAVE TRADE, and the futility of the efforts hitherto made to suppress it.

Edwards, the historian of the West Indies, states, that the importation of slaves from Africa, in British vessels, from 1680 to 1786, averaged 20,000 annually. In 1792, Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt both agreed in estimating the numbers torn from Africa at 80,000 per annum. From 1798 to 1810, recent English Parliamentary documents show the numbers exported from Africa to have averaged 85,000 per annum, and the mortality during the voyage to have been 14 per cent. From 1810 to 1815 the same documents present an average of 93,000 per annum, and the loss during the middle passage to have equalled that of the preceding period. From 1815 to 1819 the export of slaves had increased to 106,000 annually, and the mortality during the voyage to 25 per cent.

Here, then, is brought to view the extent of the evil which called for such energetic action, and which, it was hoped, could be easily crushed by legislation. Let us now look forward to the results.

While the slave trade was sanctioned by law, its extent could be as easily ascertained as that of any other branch of commerce; but after that period, the estimates of its extent are only approximations.

The late Sir THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON devoted himself with unwearied industry to the investigation of the extent and enormities of the foreign slave trade. His labors extended through many years, and the results, as published in 1840, sent a thrill of horror throughout the Christian world. He proved, conclusively, that the victims to the slave trade, *in Africa*, amounted annually to 500,000. This included the numbers who perish in the seizure of the victims, in the wars of the natives upon each other, and the deaths during their march to the coast and the detention there before embarkation. This loss he estimates at one half, or 500 out of every 1000. The destruction of life during the middle passage he estimates at 25 per cent., or 125 out of the remaining 500 of the original thousand. The mortality after landing and in seasoning he shows is 20 per cent. or one-fifth of the 375 survivors. Thus he proves that the number of lives sacrificed by the system, bears to the number of slaves available to the planter, the proportion of *seven to three*—that is to say, for every 300 slaves landed and sold in the market, 700 have fallen victims to the deprivations and cruelties connected with the traffic.

The parliamentary documents above referred to vary but little from the estimates of Mr. Buxton, excepting that they do not compute the number of victims destroyed in Africa in their seizure and transportation to the coast. The following table, extracted from these documents, presents the average number of slaves exported from Africa to America, and sold chiefly in Brazil and Cuba, with the per cent. amount of loss in the periods designated.

Dates.	Annual average number exported.	Per Ct.	Average casualties during the voyage. Amount.
1798 to 1805	85,000	14	12,000
1805 to 1810	85,000	14	12,000
1810 to 1815	93,000	14	13,000
1815 to 1817	106,000	25	26,600
1817 to 1819	106,000	25	26,600
1819 to 1825	103,000	25	25,800
1825 to 1830	125,000	25	31,000
1830 to 1835	78,500	25	19,600
1835 to 1840	135,800	25	33,900

This enormous increase of the slave trade, it must be remembered, had taken place during the period of vigorous efforts for its suppression. England, alone, according to McQueen, had expended for this object, up to 1842, in the employment of a naval force on the coast of Africa, the sum of \$88,888,888, and he estimated the annual expenditure at that time at \$2,500,000. But it has been increased since that period to

\$3,000,000 a year, making the total expenditure of Great Britain, for the suppression of the slave trade, at the close of 1848, more than *one hundred millions of dollars!* France and the United States have also expended a large amount for this object.

The disclosures of Mr. Buxton produced a profound sensation throughout England, and the conviction was forced upon the public mind, and "upon Her Majesty's confidential advisers," that the slave trade could not be suppressed by physical force, and that it was "indispensable to enter upon some new preventive system calculated to arrest the foreign slave trade."

The remedy proposed and attempted to be carried out, was, "*the deliverance of Africa by calling forth her own resources.*"

To accomplish this great work, the capitalists of England were to set on foot agricultural companies, who, under the protection of the Government, should obtain lands by treaty with the natives, and employ them in its tillage,—to send out trading ships and open factories at the most commanding positions,—to increase and concentrate the English naval force on the coast, and to make treaties with the chiefs of the coast, the rivers and the interior. These measures adopted, the companies formed were to call to their aid a race of teachers of African blood, from Sierra Leone and the West Indies, who should labor with the whites in diffusing intelligence, in imparting religious instruction, in teaching agriculture, in establishing and encouraging legitimate commerce, and in impeding and suppressing the slave trade. In conformity with these views and aims, the *African Civilization Society* was formed, and the Government fitted out three large iron steamers, at an expense of \$300,000, for the use of the company.

Mr. McQueen, who had for more than twenty years devoted himself to the consideration of Africa's redemption and Britain's glory, and who had become the most perfect master of African Geography and African resources, also appealed to the Government, and urged the adoption of measures for making *all Africa a dependency of the British Empire*. Speaking of what England had already accomplished, and of what she could yet achieve, he exclaims :

"Unfold the map of the world : We command the Ganges. Fortified at Bombay, the Indus is our own. Possessed of the islands in the mouth of the Persian Gulf, we command the outlets of Persia and the mouths of the Euphrates, and consequently of countries the cradle of the human race. We command at the Cape of Good Hope. Gibraltar and Malta belonging to us, we control the Mediterranean. Let us plant the British standard on the island of Socatora—upon the island of Fernando Po, and inland upon the banks of the Niger ; and then we may say Asia and Africa, for all their productions and all their wants are under our control. It is in our power. Nothing can prevent us."

But Providence rebuked this proud boast. The African Civilization Society commenced its labors under circumstances the most favorable for success. Its list of members embraced many of the noblest names of the kingdom. Men of science and intelligence embarked in it, and, when the expedition set sail, a shout of joy arose, and a prayer for success ascended from ten thousand philanthropic English voices.

But this magnificent scheme, fraught with untold blessings to Africa, and destined, it was believed, not only to regenerate her speedily, but to produce a revenue of unnumbered millions of dollars to the stockholders, proved an utter failure. The African climate, that deadly foe to the white man, blighted the enterprise. In a few months, disease and death had so far reduced the numbers of the men connected with the expedition, that the enterprise was abandoned, and the only evidence of its ever having ascended the Niger exists in its model farm left in the care of a Liberian.

This result, however, had been anticipated by many of the judicious Englishmen who had not suffered their enthusiasm to overcome their judgments, but who had opposed it as wild and visionary in the extreme, on account of the known fatality of the climate to white men.

Thus did the last direct effort of England for the redemption of Africa prove abortive. The slave trade has still been prosecuted with little abatement, and for the last few years with an alarming increase. The statistics in the parliamentary Report, before quoted, and from which we have extracted the table exhibiting the extent of the slave trade between Africa and America, down to 1839, also present the following table, including the numbers exported from Africa to America, from 1840 to 1847 in-

clusive, with the per cent. of loss in the middle passage and the amount. It is as follows :

Years.	Numbers.	Loss.	Per Cent.	Amount.	Years.	Numbers.	Loss.	Per Cent.	Amount.
1840	64,114	25		16,068	1844	54,102	25		13,525
1841	43,097	25		11,274	1845	36,758	25		9,189
1842	28,400	25		7,100	1846	76,117	25		19,029
1843	55,062	25		13,765	1847	84,356	25		21,089

Here, then, we have the melancholy truth forced upon us, that the slave trade was carried on as actively in 1847 as from 1798 to 1810 ; while the destruction of life during the middle passage has been increased from 14 per cent. to 25 ; and that while the vigorous means used to suppress the traffic, during these fifty years, have failed of this end, they have greatly aggravated its horrors.

And such was the conviction of the total inadequacy of the means which had been employed by the British Government to check or suppress the evil, that the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, at the close of the year 1847, after declaring that the slave trade was then more actively and systematically prosecuted than for many years, and that its horrors had been greatly increased, urged upon the Government, from motives of humanity, the suspension of all physical force, and the repeal of all laws inflicting penalties upon those engaged in the traffic. It was proved that the slave traders, when closely pursued by vessels of war, often hid the evidences of their guilt, when favored by the darkness of the night, by burying the slaves with which they were freighted, in the depths of the ocean ; or by persevering in refusing to surrender, force the pursuing vessels to continue firing into them, and thus endanger and destroy the innocent victims crowded between the decks of their vessels. It was also urged that the African Civilization Society be revived, but that, instead of *white men*, the emigrants be taken from the better educated and more enlightened of the West India colored population. By the adoption of this course, and the civilization of the Africans along the coast, they hope to seal the fountain whence the evils flows.

This brief outline of the slave trade, and of the efforts made by Great Britain for its suppression, and the utter failure of the measures which she had adopted to accomplish that object, prove, conclusively, two points which American philanthropists had for years urged as settled truths, viz. :

1. *That the planting and building up of Christian Colonies on the coast of Africa, is the only practical remedy for the slave trade.*

2. *That colored men only can, with safety, settle upon the African coast.*

And so fully has the British Government now become convinced of the truth of these propositions, that Lord Palmerston not only has placed a naval force at the disposal of the President of Liberia for the suppression of the slave trade on territory recently purchased, where the slave traders refused to leave, but has, in connection with others, offered ample pecuniary means to purchase the whole territory between Sierra Leone and Liberia, now infested by those traffickers in human flesh, with the view of annexing it to the little Republic, and thus rescuing it from their hands.

By this act, Englishmen have acknowledged the superiority of our scheme of African redemption over that of the philanthropists of Britain, and have thus given assurances to the world that their plan of *making Africa a dependency of the British Crown* has been abandoned, and that a change of policy towards our colony has been adopted. All their own schemes in relation to Africa having failed, they are constrained to acknowledge the wisdom and success of ours, and are the first to avail themselves of the commercial advantages afforded to the world by the creation of the Republic of Liberia.

Extracts from the 32d Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, shewing the prosperity of the Republic, and the necessity for a large emigration :

Several new Auxiliary Societies have been formed, which promise much efficiency. We have succeeded in getting agents for Virginia, Tennessee and North Carolina.

In these States, no regular, systematic efforts have been made for years. The New-York State Colonization Society have secured the services of the Rev. J. B. Pinney, so long and favorably known in connection with Liberia and the cause in this country. The Louisiana State Colonization Society has been re-organized and have secured an act of Incorporation from the State Legislature. A tract of land on the Sinou river has been set apart for the occupancy of emigrants from that State. The officers and managers of the Society are anxious to commence a settlement there as soon as they can send out a company of emigrants. A gentleman in Cincinnati, Ohio, of great wealth and distinguished liberality, has made a most liberal offer of means to purchase Cape Mount, or Gallinas, and offer it to the colored people of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, if they will emigrate and form a new settlement under the auspices of the Republic of Liberia. A gentleman in Tennessee, who owns about three hundred slaves who have been accustomed to the manufacture of iron, proposes to settle them in Liberia, defraying all the expenses himself, in the neighborhood of some beds of iron ore, probably at New Cesters. And a number of gentlemen in that state propose to make a contribution of funds sufficient to secure a good tract of land for the occupancy of emigrants from that State. In all parts of the country, the condition and prospects of Liberia are matters of thought and discussion.

Liberia is able to receive advantageously thousands of emigrants annually. They have sufficient territory for millions of inhabitants. They need more citizens in every department of industry. Thousands and thousands of the native Africans are open to the influences of civilization and christianity. There are people enough in this country who are anxious to go to Liberia.

The relations which are hereafter to subsist between this Society and the Republic of Liberia have been settled in a satisfactory manner.

Thus far, the Liberians have proved themselves capable of self-government. They have passed the critical period of a change of organization. They have consolidated their strength, and become familiarized to the privileges of freedom and the responsibilities of self-control. No people have ever exhibited greater devotion to their government and institutions, or submitted more readily to lawful authority. We have every reason to believe that the Government of the "Republic of Liberia" is now fixed on as permanent a basis as human wisdom is capable of devising.

The purchase of territory has been prosecuted with vigor, and is nearly completed. The line of coast from Little Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, a distance of 320 miles, is now all under the jurisdiction of the Government of Liberia, and held in fee simple by it, with the exception of a few small tracts, amounting to about 20 miles. It is gratifying to know that they have purchased *New Cesters*, the only remaining slave factory on that part of the coast. It cost \$2,000.

General peace and prosperity have prevailed throughout the Republic for the past year. The inhabitants are busy and happy in the prosecution of their various avocations.

Greater attention has been paid to the cultivation of the soil. The value of this branch of business is becoming more correctly estimated. The lovely banks of the St. Paul's and St. John's rivers will soon present a beautiful prospect, adorned with rich fields of rice, sugar cane, and coffee. The cultivation of ginger, pepper, arrow root and coffee is engrossing many minds. They have exported considerable quantities of these articles during the past year. Coffee will undoubtedly be the most valuable of all the productions of Liberia. It is easy of cultivation. It yields a large crop in five years after being planted; and its quality has been pronounced by competent judges equal to any in the world.

The cause of education has received increased attention. The churches have mostly been blessed with revivals of religion. The native tribes are becoming more subject to the laws, and accustomed to the manners and habits of civilized life. From present prospects there is no limit that can be fixed to the good influence which Liberia and her institutions can exert upon the native tribes, but the entire temporal and spiritual regeneration of Africa!

The United States Government, early in the past year, appointed a Commercial Agent to reside in Liberia, and have in various ways shown their approbation of the stand taken by the citizens thereof, in organizing an independent government.

BRITISH POLICY TOWARD LIBERIA.

[*Extract from the Philadelphia North American.]*

LIBERIA.

The subjoined interesting extracts from a letter written by a gentleman in London to his correspondent in this city, are entitled to attention. Without presuming to detract from the liberality of British policy or British statesmen, it is not unfair to suppose that the extraordinary marks of regard bestowed upon President Roberts, are in some degree to be attributed to the growing commercial importance of the new Republic. The trade of England with Africa is already estimated at four millions sterling per annum, and her keen-sighted rulers are obviously determined to foster this new source of profit with all care and diligence.

"January 11th, 1849.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—I have already informed you that the British government allotted a frigate to carry President Roberts and his family back to Liberia, and I sent you an 'Illustrated London News,' containing a drawing of the reception of the President on board her Majesty's frigate, under a salute of seventeen guns. By this drawing you will see that he was treated with all the honors due to his rank. He wrote to me, just before his departure, a very interesting letter, giving me the last information after I took leave of him in London. He mentioned that Lord Auckland, the first Lord of the Admiralty, treated him with the utmost respect and consideration, and showed the strongest desire to promote the welfare of Liberia, and also to suppress the slave trade. He promised a government cutter to be placed at the President's disposal for this object.

Unfortunately, this excellent and well disposed man (Lord Auckland) is since dead. He died suddenly a few days ago. But his instructions will be carried out, for all the members of the government, Lord Palmerston, Mr. Labouchere, Lord John Russell, &c., are as favorably inclined to promote the prosperity of Liberia and the suppression of the slave trade as I might almost say you yourself are; but I will not say this, because it would be no compliment to your zeal and unremitting efforts for the last twenty-five years in this good cause. The British government are, without doubt, most favorably inclined to promote the President's views in every way, and you will find the most important consequences flowing from the President's visit to this country and France.

I do not recollect whether I have already told you of the very interesting interview which Mr. Roberts had with the Bishop of London, and also what took place at the Prussian Ambassador's house, where the President dined with Lord Ashley, Mr. Gurney and others. The Bishop was exceedingly interested in what the President told him, and took down notes of the conversation, which fill three sides of a large sheet of paper. He promised all the aid in missionary efforts possible. At Chevalier Bunsen's table, Mr. Roberts sat beside the excellent and benevolent Lord Ashley, who was very minute in his inquiries about Liberia and the suppression of the slave trade. Mr. Roberts told him the most effectual way to put down the latter would be to purchase the Gallenas territory, which is between the Sierra Leone colony and the Republic of Liberia, and thus seven hundred miles of coast would be forever guaranteed against the slave trade. His Lordship asked how much money would buy it; to which Mr. R. replied £2,000 would be ample to do the thing perfectly.

Lord A. said the enterprise must be set about immediately, and after they rose from table he went to Mr. Gurney and proposed to him to buy and present this territory to the new Republic. Mr. G. received the proposition favorably, and requested Mr. Roberts to call upon him in Lombard street, next morning, when Mr. G. gave him an obligation for half of the amount (£1000,) and a kind of promise that if the British government did not make the purchase for President R., he, himself, would see that the purchase was made on his own responsibility, if he could not get some friends to join him in effecting this important object. Mr. Roberts left London with this understanding, and I have now the pleasure to add that when I called upon Mr. Gurney, a few days ago, I asked him, how about the Gallenas? that I wished to inform my friend E. C., in Philadelphia, about it. Mr. Gurney replied, you may inform friend C. that such arrangements have been made as will secure the acquisition of the Gallenas to the Republic of Liberia. I told him this would be joyful news to you.

Extract from a Sermon delivered by the Rev. JOEL PARKER, D. D., in Philadelphia, April 22, 1849, shewing that a vast Emigration can be induced by proper means.

But, will this population return to Africa? Unquestionably it will. There are two influences both tending with increasing power to produce this result. The repulsion is increased here: the attractions are augmented in Africa.

A miniature United States has commenced its existence on the Western coast of that dark continent. The colony in Liberia was founded in 1821. It has existed for a little more than a quarter of a century. The progress has been slow. The difficulties of founding a new colony are always great. Yet, compared with others, a wonderful success has attended it. It had sickness to contend with, but has become remarkably healthful. The deaths in Liberia, as appears from a comparison instituted by the colonial physician in 1842, were three per cent. less in proportion to the population than in Baltimore. The climate is, at least, equal to that of Philadelphia, in point of salubrity. In this respect it has experienced less discouragement than either the Plymouth, or the Jamestown colony, as shown in our own early history. The Colonization Society has sent out to Liberia, in round numbers, 7000 emigrants. These have attracted the natives of the country, and incorporated them into the nascent State, till, according to the last message of their excellent Chief Magistrate, Gov. Roberts, there is now a population of 80,000 under the Government. They own 455 miles of coast, with the prospect of soon extending it 250 miles further to the English colony at Sierra Leone, in all 800.

They have their own Legislature and Courts—their constitution, laws and officers, and all the appliances of a well ordered republic. They have commodious churches, and good elementary schools, printing presses and newspapers, ministers, lawyers, and physicians, all rising up among their own people. They have commerce of their own—wealthy business establishments, and shipping owned by men who, a few years ago, were slaves in America, or but slightly advanced above a state of bondage. They have agriculture rapidly improving at length, though for a long time languishing. They have also the favorable regard of our own government, and to our discredit as a people, the warmer regard of the English and French and Belgian governments. How can it be otherwise, than that such a colony should be attractive to the black population of this country. The ratio of increasing interest is peculiarly displayed by recent movements. In 1848, there were 1,010 applications made to the Colonization Society for transportation to Liberia. About 500 emigrated. For the four years immediately preceding, the average emigrations were 120 only. Yet no extraordinary effort has been made. This increase has spontaneously risen up from the growingly inviting character of the colony. A good friend has just furnished me with a few additional items of information which I cannot withhold.

Our own Pennsylvania colony at Bassa Cove possesses now about 1500 souls, and is acknowledged by Governor Roberts to be the most promising settlement on the coast, furnishing a beautiful specimen of agricultural prosperity. One farmer at Bassa sent to this country 1400 pounds of coffee, and 1000 pounds of arrow root. Another produced last year 8000 pounds of sugar, and that, while destitute of the aids of machinery.

J. Hoff, Esq., of Chesnut Street, who deceased within the last few weeks, left a legacy to the Society of \$10,000, to purchase new territory. A gentleman from Tennessee, called, uninvited, a few days since, on the Hon. Joseph R. Ingerson, President of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, and left with him \$3000, the interest to be applied to education in Liberia. Another gentleman from Florida has sent a liberal donation and offered to join others also in a further outlay.

It is confidently believed, that, such is the disposition towards this colony now, that if the means of their transportation can be secured, 10,000 slaves will have their freedom given them, this year, by their masters, to go to Liberia.

Extract from an appeal by the President of Liberia to the Government and people of the United States.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *Monrovia, Liberia, May 19, 1849.*

To the Government and people of the United States this Appeal is most respectfully submitted:

The Government of Liberia, nearly two years ago, purchased from the Native Chiefs the tract of Territory known by the name of New Cesters, which had been for many years famous as a mart for the purchase of slaves for exportation. There were at this time slave factories established there, carrying on extensive operations, and annually shipping their thousands of victims.

Directly after the purchase of the territory—for which a large sum was paid in view of the suppression of the Slave Trade there—notice was given to the slavers of the fact, allowing them sufficient time to wind up their business, only prohibiting, in the meantime, any further operations in the traffic of slaves. Instead, however, of attending to the notification, the government received at first only evasive answers, while circumstances left no room to doubt that they had obtained the services of a large number of natives to defend them in the event of an attempt to remove them by force. To the last peremptory order to quit the territory or abandon the Slave Trade, they returned a defiance; at which time it was ascertained they were so well armed and fortified, that an attempt to dislodge them without the assistance of one or two armed vessels, would be attended with much danger, and perhaps great loss of life.

In October last, the English and French Governments tendered the aid of a part of their forces on this coast, to extirpate the factories and remove the slavers from the territory. And in the month of March, vessels were placed at our disposal to convey our troops and cover their landing at New Cesters. Although at the time, the Government was by no means prepared to incur the expense of an expedition necessary to meet the extensive preparations which had been made by the slavers, yet the aid so generously tendered, was regarded too important to be declined—the cause of justice and humanity, too, demanded immediate action. Therefore the Government determined to proceed, relying upon the aid of the Government and people of the United States to enable it to liquidate the debt incurred. The expedition was undertaken. The Natives, headed by the Spaniards, offered a vigorous resistance; but they were repulsed, the factories destroyed, and the slaves released and brought to this place. The factory at Trade Town was also destroyed, and the slavers driven out, thus effectually abolishing the Slave Trade from the whole line of coast between Grand Cape Mount and Cape Palmas.

The territory of Gallinas being now closely blockaded by a British force, a most favorable opportunity presents itself for opening a negotiation for the purchase of that country. Such a negotiation could be at once opened with success, had the Government the necessary funds.

If this Republic should be enabled to add Gallinas to its territory, the line of coast from Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas would be under its jurisdiction, and with one or two small vessels and boats, this long line of coast could be easily kept free from the demoralizing and wilting influence of the Slave Trade.

In this great work of humanity, the people of this Republic look confidently for aid to the Government and People of the United States.

Extract from the African Repository on the destruction of the slave factories at New Cess and Trade Town :

The authorities of Liberia have broken up the slave factories at New Cess and Trade Town. A volunteer corps of four hundred men were raised for the purpose, and the commander of the French war steamer "*Espon*" offered his vessel to carry the troops down to New Cess. The slavers had armed a large native force, who attempted to prevent the Liberia troops from landing; but a few shells fired by the French steamer kept them off until the Liberians effected a landing and formed upon the shore. They then soon routed the slaver and all his allies. The Spaniard who

owned the factory, seeing what would be the result, set fire to his establishment with his own hand, and then fled on his horse into the bush, and so escaped. The troops liberated about thirty slaves, and destroyed the immense wall which surrounded his premises.

This expedition cost the Government of Liberia a very large sum for them—probably from \$8,000 to \$10,000.

The English squadron has for the last month or two been blockading the Gallinas, to prevent the slave trade there. Some time ago they burnt down the factories; but there is very little prospect that any permanent good will thereby be effected. The slavers are watching every movement, and the moment the men-of-war are out of sight will revive their trade.

The return of President Roberts from England was a time of general rejoicing. Captain Trowbridge, of Her Majesty's ship "Amazon," (in which the President was sent home,) and Captain Byrne, of the United States ship Decatur, accompanied President Roberts on shore. Immediately after he left the Amazon, she fired a national salute, and directly afterwards the Decatur commenced uttering her thunder. The day after a public dinner was given to Capt. Trowbridge and his officers by the citizens of Monrovia, and Capt. Byrne and his officers were invited guests. At night there were illuminations, and sky rockets, and processions, and speeches, and all similar demonstrations of joy.

Extract from the Liberia Herald, on the necessity of increased emigration.

We cannot expect peace and quietness while the slave trade is going on so near us. Nor can we hope to exert our full influence upon the surrounding tribes until the accursed traffic is wholly destroyed. When that most desirable object is accomplished, we shall then breathe freely. We may stretch freely and safely to the north, south, and to the interior. The natives, then, instead of viewing our approach with distrust, as calculated to destroy their trade, will court us, will receive us hospitably, and be anxious to learn our arts, our mode of agriculture, and vigorously apply themselves to produce from their fat soil and teeming forests, the rich and valuable articles of commerce. Then, indeed, instead of dotting little settlements along the sea board contiguous to each other, we would strike out boldly into the interior, form settlements where the foot of civilization has never yet penetrated, and feel abundant security in the natives' eagerness to learn.

Extract from the 8th Annual Report of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, on the necessity for a greater Emigration and the establishment of a College in Liberia, &c.

The most prominent and pressing want of the new Republic is, an increase of good citizens. Of her present population, more than ten to one are uncivilized heathen natives, who know just enough of civilization to understand that they shall be gainers by placing themselves under a civilized government. They are spread over the whole territory; and every where they need civilized men from America to settle among them, to be their instructors, both by precept and example; to be local magistrates, so that the laws can every where be regularly administered; to introduce into every neighborhood, the arts, usages and decencies of civilization; and above all, to exhibit, before every eye, the light of a Christian life.

Another want, though not so immediately pressing, is equally imperative, and must soon be supplied. Liberia wants a University, of high order; one that shall be the best place in the world for the education of colored people. Liberia is probably as ripe for the commencement of such an institution, as New England was when Harvard College was founded. Her common schools are already respectable, both in number

and quality. They need improvement ; but it is not probable that they will ever be very much improved, except through the influence of a University, raising up a supply of better qualified teachers on the ground. High schools have been established, and have done much, and some of them are now doing much; but they all have been, and those that still survive will continue to be, embarrassed by causes which will continue to operate, till they are supplied with native teachers, educated at their own University. The standard of education needs to be raised in all the learned professions. A Republic ought to contain within itself, the means of acquiring a good education in law, medicine and theology.

Such an institution must of necessity be a work of time. It should begin on a small scale, but with large plans. Two or three teachers are enough at first. The buildings should cost but a few thousand dollars. There should be a library, containing several copies of every work necessary as a text book in a college course, and a small, but well-selected assortment on general literature and science. And there should be provision for the entire support of a small number of students ; for, though a few of the more wealthy citizens will gladly defray the expense of the education of their own sons, yet the Republic will need, and must have, educated men, much faster than such families can supply them ; and it is very important that some youths from native families should be liberally educated without delay. A manual labor department may be added, if found desirable for purposes of discipline, or for education in the industrial arts ; but all experience forbids us to rely upon it as a means of support either in whole or in part.

There are decisive indications of a readiness in this country to supply this want. It is known that several gentlemen in this State have long intended to make liberal donations for this object, when the proper time should come. A gentleman in one of the south-western States has placed at the disposal of the Hon. J. R. Ingersoll, President of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, three thousand dollars, as a permanent fund for education in Liberia. Another southern gentleman has given, through Elliot Cresson, Esq., Secretary of that Society, six hundred dollars "for the purchase of mathematical instruments for academical purposes in Liberia," and two hundred for other uses in promoting education. Two members of this Society have sent out to Liberia the necessary instruments for a series of meteorological observations.

There is a third want, which should not be neglected. Liberia needs a National Library. This should contain such standard works as the members of the legislature, the judiciary and the principal executive officers of government need to consult for guidance in the performance of their respective duties. To these should be added, valuable works in any department of human knowledge, and especially such as are too costly for private libraries.

Since the above Report was presented, the Legislature of Massachusetts has granted a charter for the establishment of a College in Liberia, and a large amount of money has been subscribed for the purpose.

Extract from a letter from the Secretary of the Massachusetts Colonization Society to J. P. Hazard, Esq., dated Boston, April 19, 1849, showing how the Natives are civilized by the Liberians.

Sir,—As you suggest in your letter to Capt. Barker of the 7th instant, manufacturers may do much for Africa by donations of their goods. The experience of our most successful missions shows, not exactly that Christianity cannot precede civilization, but that it cannot advance, among a barbarous people, much faster than it carries civilization along with it ; for the vices of barbarism cannot be eradicated while its indecencies remain. It is of great importance, therefore, that the means of civilized decency be placed within the reach of barbarous tribes, in connection with efforts for their conversion.

This the American Colonization Society is doing, to a very great extent. It is our rule to furnish all emigrants for six months after their arrival. Economy requires that by far the greater part of their food be purchased in Africa. The most important

article is rice; and of this, the greater is purchased of the natives. We also pay the natives large amounts for other necessary articles, and for labor. As all trade with them is by barter, we are obliged to keep on hand, at the Colonial Store, a large assortment of such goods as they need to buy. For this purpose we expend thousands of dollars annually in the purchase of bleached and unbleached cottons, cotton stripes, checks and prints, of which the prevailing color is blue; hardware, cutlery, and other articles. A part is sold to the natives directly, and the remainder to the Liberians, who need the goods for their own use, or as a medium of barter with the natives.

The result is, that the habit of being decently clothed, and furnished with other comforts and means of civilized life, is rapidly spreading among the native tribes. And this not only diminishes some obstacles to the progress of Christianity among them, but creates in their minds a presumption in its favor, as coming through the same channel with their other improvements.

Our trade, however, is not wholly confined to the purchase of provisions. Our native customers have learned to want more goods than the provisions that we need, can pay for; and for the excess, we receive ivory, dye-woods, palm oil, and other African products, which we are obliged to bring home for a market. The consequent increase of native industry, especially in the production of palm oil, is very manifest.

Beside the business transacted at the Colonial Store, a much larger amount is done by the Liberian merchants, who purchase goods in this country, or of vessels trading on the coast, or at the Colonial Store, with which they buy of the natives, whatever they can make useful to themselves or profitable in commerce.

It is not probable that this commerce can be pushed much in advance of its natural increase, growing out of the increasing extent of our operations. Ever since the discovery of Cape Mesurada by Pedro de Cintra in 1462, and according to some French writers, for more than a century longer, European goods have been constantly offered in that market, by shrewd and enterprising traders, but without producing any material change in the habits of the people. The mere presentation of goods and offer of trade, fails to accomplish the object, even if some are sold; for they are bought for such uses as barbarism can find for them. The fashion must be set by civilized and Christian neighbors, whose superiority is ever before the eyes of the natives, and whom it is an object of ambition to resemble. The increase of a civilizing commerce, therefore, will be in proportion to the growth and multiplication of our settlements. If the Society is enabled to send out the increasing multitudes that call for its aid, more rice must be bought for their subsistence, more cotton must be sold to pay for it, the trade must reach a greater extent of country, new plantations must be opened, more of the natives will have civilized neighbors, and in every way the civilizing influence will be strengthened and more widely diffused. It already extends beyond the line of the settlements, half way, we suppose, to the valley of the Niger; and the more the civilizing power is strengthened, the farther and faster will it spread.

Extract from a Memorial in behalf of the American Colonization Society, addressed to the Legislature of the State of Ohio, in 1849, advocating an appropriation by that State for the purpose of Colonization.

The undersigned, citizens of the State of Ohio, ask leave to represent to your honorable body, that since the Colony of Liberia has declared its Independence, and been recognized by the principal governments of Europe, the reaction upon the United States has given such an impulse to the work of emancipating the slave, and such an impetus to the aspirations of the free colored man to enjoy the privileges of freemen, that the Colonization Society is no longer able to meet the demands made upon its treasury.

The Independence of Liberia was declared in 1847. During that and the two preceding years only 330 emigrants had been sent, averaging 110 a year. But in 1848 the Society had applications to the number of about one thousand for a passage to Liberia, nearly all of whom have been sent, and are now in the enjoyment of the blessings of citizens of a free Republic. Of this number nearly three-fourths were emancipated slaves, sent by their masters back to their father-land.

For the present year we have assurances that, besides a large number of colored freemen who have made known their desire to emigrate, *Ten Thousand Slaves* are in the offer of the Society, who will be liberated as soon as provision can be made for their removal.

This immense increase of the demands made upon the Society, places it wholly beyond its power to carry out the enterprise by a reliance, as heretofore, upon the voluntary contributions of benevolent individuals. The importance of sustaining the Society, at the present crisis in its operations, and preventing disappointment to the applicants, must be apparent to every one. If it is enabled to meet all the demands made upon it, and thus to rescue 10,000 men from Slavery the present year, there can be but little doubt, that the moral effect produced will greatly increase the emancipations in future; and there can be as little doubt, but that intelligent free colored men, seeing the way opened to secure to their children all the social, political, and educational advantages of Liberia, will also eagerly continue to flock to the new Republic, that they may aid in civilizing the eighty millions of their brethren in Africa, and of raising them to their true position among nations.

But as this great work cannot be prosecuted efficiently, except the States and General Government afford some aid, we respectfully ask that you will, at the present session, make an appropriation to the American Colonization Society of—say \$5,000 a year for ten years. This sum, though it will be less than $1\frac{1}{4}$ mills to the \$100 of valuation of taxable property of the State, and only $2\frac{1}{2}$ mills to each of its inhabitants, will send out ONE HUNDRED EMIGRANTS ANNUALLY.

Such has been the deep interest manifested heretofore, by the public in the cause of the oppressed African, and such the amount of public money expended annually in discussions upon the subject in our legislative bodies, that we approach you with confidence, believing, that as the dawn of Africa's redemption is now clearly appearing, through the light of the rising star of the Republic of Liberia, you will not hesitate to appropriate a much larger sum than we have named. And, as it is now conceded that the Slave Trade can only be suppressed by colonizing the coast of Africa, the cause of Humanity, as well as the welfare of the colored people in our country, we believe, demands that the patronage of the State should at once be added to that of the voluntary contributions of individuals, so as to secure a speedy extension of Civilization and Christianity into the heart of that benighted land.

Extract from a letter from T. G. SMITH, an emigrant, to the Rev. W. McLain, dated Monrovia, Liberia, Nov. 21, 1849, showing the condition of the Liberians :

My first impressions of Monrovia are very favorable. I had no idea of seeing so many cows, sheep, goats, hogs, and poultry roaming about; also of seeing several snug little saddle nags. There are, in the central part of the city, several fine and respectable buildings. There are also located through the town many well built and comfortable small houses, constructed of stone, brick and frame work. There are on the skirts of the city and suburbs many thatched houses of the native construction. I have seen fine and well finished bricks in quantities, that were burnt on the St. Paul's river. I also visited the tannery of David Moore, Esq., where the skins of the native breed bullocks are prepared for manufacture. Monrovia is built direct upon the Cape. The slope of the Cape is from the ocean downward to the river. Towards the top of the promontory the soil is impregnated with numerous beds of stone, and throughout the Cape are to be found, at intervening spaces, beds of this granite. And it is surprising to behold the prolific growth of plants and vegetation, as it would almost seem, amid the beds of stone. I visited Judge Benedict's fine coffee farm, of which you have no doubt been informed of its promising condition. But Monrovia is not destined to exist as a garden; hers is to be a great commercial emporium; the native trade is great; you perceive them conveying in their canoes across the river, rice, vegetables, fish and other commodities for sale or barter; they bring in stock also. I have mentioned only the above articles, as my investigations have not yet been directed to the higher articles of trade. Leaf tobacco seems to be unto them as fine gold. There

are several pretty large trading houses, where you may procure provisions, dry goods, &c., at prices, of course, heavier than in America. Native labor is easily obtained for moderate compensation; indeed moderate, when paid in goods. The temperature here at this time is quite moderate; resembling our Carolina fall weather. The rains are mostly at night, and early in the morning; they are not very durable at this time. I presume that they are about breaking up. The great portion of the people here are respectable, courteous and intelligent; cheerful and contented also. Of the farmers located on the St. Paul's river I have seen many; they are fine looking yeomen. I have quizzed them about their willingness to return to America, and have found it to be "No" by acclamation.

Extracts from a Pamphlet published by the Colonization Society, entitled, "Information about going to Liberia."

Q. 5. Can I educate my children there, and what will it cost?

A. By a law of the commonwealth, all parents are required to send their children to school. In some of the settlements the schools are very good. In others, they are more indifferent. But a parent who wants to educate his children can do it better in Liberia than any other place.

Q. 7. How can we make a living in Liberia?

A. In the same way that you would make one anywhere else; that is, by industry and *economy*.

Those who are competent to teach school, can get from three to four hundred dollars for teaching. Good accountants can get from four to eight hundred dollars as clerks in stores and mercantile houses. Tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, brickmakers, cabinet makers, shipwrights, &c., &c., can always find employment at good wages.

A coffee tree once planted, and reared, (which takes four years) will yield its increase two crops a year, year after year, bringing its reward with it—a hundred, a thousand and tens of thousands, will do the very same, and certainly the scions, or the seed, are to be bought in sufficient quantities in Liberia. Arrow root, ginger, pinders, and pepper, grow with almost half trouble, yielding in full abundance if planted. Indigo, &c., grow luxuriantly beyond all possible expectation; and as for fruits, the orange, lime, lemon, sour sop, guava, mango, &c., &c., we place Liberia against any country in the world, and with what a fraction of labor, compared with the benefits they yield. Vegetables—the yam, potatoes, cassada, plantains, Indian corn, beans, peas, &c., &c., useless to mention, time would fail us to tell. Put them in the earth, and they are as sure to produce as the God of nature is to bring about the seasons.

The Rev. J. B. PHINNEY, so long and so well known as Gov. of Liberia, and since as an agent in this country, answers the question thus, viz.:

"No man, by farming, can get a living without labor in any country; but in Liberia, there being no snow, or frost, or cold to provide against, a large portion of the labor needed here for keeping warm and comfortable, is not needed there, and as it is always summer, much less land will support a family."

Another consideration may here be added, viz: that many important plants and vegetables continue to grow and bear from year to year, with very little cultivation. Our garden Lima beans, I have seen covering by its vines a good sized tree, where it had been growing and constantly bearing for *nine years!* Sweet potato vines are often, when pulled, replanted, and go on to bear more roots. The African potato, or cassada, grows for two years; the cotton plant bears for nine or ten years."

Q. 8. Can I be as healthy in Liberia as I am in the United States?

A. Probably not. Some constitutions may be more healthy there than here. For old settlers, Liberia is doubtless more healthy than many parts of the United States. The deaths there, among such, for several years past, have not been more than three per cent. For acclimated emigrants, Liberia is as healthy as any other country. Their bills of mortality show this. The census published and circulated so widely in all parts of this country proves it.

And farther than this, there is very little danger of dying in the process of acclima-

tion, if the patient takes proper care of himself. Of the emigrants sent out during the last five years, not *one* in *twenty* has died from the effects of acclimating fever.

Extracts from the 31st Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, shewing the increasing disposition of the free Negroes to emigrate.

The impression made in this country and elsewhere by the DECLARATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE of LIBERIA, is, and will continue to be, of immense value to the cause of Colonization. Already among the colored people has a most favorable effect been produced. A convention of between seven and eight hundred of them, in Illinois, has selected one of their number, and authorised him to go to Liberia as their agent, and return and report the facts to them. In the city of New York another mission has been appointed for a similar purpose. And although it is but a short time since the Constitution of Liberia was published in this country, we have learned that in many places it has called forth the approbation of the more intelligent among them, and that a determination to emigrate and become a part of that free and happy community, is beginning to prevail.

This work of conviction and conversion among the colored people in the free States, must go on until the tide of emigration sets in towards Liberia with great force.

Circumstances existing at present, touching their position and prospects in the United States, will undoubtedly hasten their decisions, and convince them of their only rational policy.

All the developments of society in this country are rapidly establishing the truth of the policy of the American Colonization Society, that the most feasible way to elevate the African race, and to bestow upon them those civil, social, and political privileges which are the inalienable birthright of mankind, is to separate them from the overshadowing influence of a stronger and more intelligent race, and place them in a situation where, free as the air they breathe, and untrammeled as the bold eagle in mid heaven, they may start in the career of personal improvement. As far as we can ascertain or understand the indications of the times, the free States are becoming every year more fixed and settled in their policy of prohibiting the introduction of colored people from the slave States, and of preventing those already in them from rising to a participation in any of the privileges of citizenship. We say not that this policy is wise or right. But simply, that it is a fixed fact, which cannot be changed until society is completely revolutionized in its modes of thought and feeling. Take, for example, the resolution passed by a vote of 92 to 43, in the Convention of the State of Illinois, met to draft a new constitution, proposing to prohibit free persons of color from settling in the State, and to prevent masters from sending their slaves into the State to be liberated; or the result of the late effort to allow them to vote in New York, which was lost by an overwhelming majority; or, in Connecticut, where it was voted down by four to one. Their home, then, is not here. Reasonable and thinking men every where among them, are beginning to see and feel the true state of the case. As they become more enlightened, they will see and feel this state of things more deeply; and if, in these circumstances, we can show them that Liberia is a desirable place for them, far removed from all these embarrassments, they will be convinced that their true policy is to emigrate. We, therefore, confidently believe the time will come, when thousands of them will fly to their fatherland, paying their own expenses, and beckoning others to follow.

It is not, therefore, for a moment to be imagined, that, because Liberia has become independent, the work of Colonization has come to a conclusion. By no means. Henceforth the Colonization Society is the helper and supporter of a new state, instead of, as heretofore, the planter and protector of a colony. Liberia must not now be left to struggle alone and unaided, to meet the increased responsibilities of her position. Her independent character places her claims to our sympathies upon new ground. She needs more men in all the departments of her government, in all the branches of her industry, in all the channels of her commerce, in all her churches and her schools. These men must, for the present, mainly be sent from this country. Most of them are destitute of means to defray their own expenses. The Society must raise the money

and aid them to the full extent of their necessities. As far as all the appropriate duties of Colonization are concerned, the Society stands related to Liberia in precisely the same situation that it did before their independence was declared.

Considerable progress has been made in the purchase of Territory during the year. Governor Roberts, in his message remarks :

" It is understood, in each case, that we shall extend to them our patronage and protection ; that we will establish trading factories among them, furnishing them necessities at moderate prices, in exchange for their commodities, and protect them against the incursions of their marauding neighbors."

Extract from the Inaugural Address of President ROBERTS on the change of relations between the Colony and the Society :

Under the fostering care of the American Colonization Society, these infant settlements soon began to prosper and flourish ; and a profitable trade, in a few years, opened an intercourse between them and the subjects and citizens of foreign countries. This intercourse eventually involved us into difficulties with British traders, and of consequence with the British government, which could not be settled, for the want of certain powers in the government here, not provided for in the Constitution. Nor indeed would the British government recognize in the people of Liberia the rights of sovereignty—" such as imposing custom dues and levying taxes upon British commerce"—so long as their political connection with the Colonization Society continued. Under these circumstances, a change in our relations with the Society, and the adoption of a new constitution, were deemed, by a large majority of the citizens of the Commonwealth, absolutely necessary. Such also was the opinion of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, who recommended the measure as the only means of relieving the government from these embarrassments and the citizens from innumerable inconveniences.

Now, according to the best computation I am at present able to make—and which I believe is pretty nearly correct—the population of Liberia proper—including, of course, the aboriginal inhabitants who have incorporated themselves with us, and subscribed to the constitution and laws of the Republic—is now upwards of eighty thousand ; and we may reasonably suppose that the inhabitants will increase almost in the ratio of compound interest. I have no doubt that the natural population of the Republic, in the course of twenty years, will be doubled ; and we have great reason to believe that the number of immigrants arriving from America, and perhaps other countries, will also be very considerable. The free people of color in the United States, wearied with beating the air to advance themselves to equal immunities with the whites in that country, and tired of the oppression which weighs them down *there*, are seriously turning their attention to Liberia as the only asylum they can flee to and be happy.

Extract from a Memorial to the Legislature of Va., presented by R. W. BAILEY, agent of the American Colonization Society for Virginia, shewing the practicability of the proposed emigration :

By an act of the Legislature of Virginia in 1833, an appropriation was made of \$90,000, to be paid in five annual instalments for the deportation of the free colored people to Liberia—thirty dollars to each emigrant. No part of this appropriation was ever drawn from the Treasury, because no voluntary emigrants were to be found.

Now if the Legislature, instead of a forcible removal of this people, should revive the act of 1833, making an appropriation of \$90,000, or what would be still better, twice that sum, what would be the effect ? Would the free negroes avail themselves of the provision ? And if they should, would its disbursements make any sensible impression on their numbers, either to extinguish or greatly reduce them ? Are they willing to go ? Can they be induced to go ?

That the appropriation could now be easily applied to its object, there can be no reasonable doubt. It may readily be shown that Liberia is the proper home of the free colored man. He can be made to see that. It was very different in 1833, when the former invitation was extended to him and rejected. Liberia was then a colony, struggling with difficulties incident to its unsettled state, its climate not well defined, its virgin soil hardly turned by the ploughshare, its resources not developed, not even counted in their number and value, the savage border tribes still restless and of doubtful friendship, and all the early calamities of the colony in its infant state still fresh in recollection. Now the Republic of Liberia stands among the nations of the earth, recognized by other nations, inviting the emigrant to a free government of constitutional laws; to a soil not surpassed in fertility; to social, intellectual and religious privileges by no means inferior to those he leaves. We say, then, he may become a *voluntary* emigrant, because it is for his interest to go. It is not expatriation, but rather the return of the exile home. So he sees it, when he looks beyond his prejudices to the facts in the case.

¶ But we are not left to probabilities in this matter. We are told by those who have addressed them on the subject, that they are easily made to desire a removal to Liberia. Receiving the facts in the case well authenticated, they say—"let us go to our father land." The Colonization Society has now more applicants than means of transportation.

When, in 1777, Mr. Jefferson first proposed the remedy we now propose, a few hundred free blacks, composing the whole evil in Virginia, could have been easily removed. Ten years afterwards, Dr. Thornton's proposition had to grapple with thousands. Our legislature of 1800, with deep concern, sought the removal of 15,000 free negroes. In 1816 they again bring the subject into consideration, and find that number doubled. In 1833 they look at it again—the number is trebled, and they hasten to appropriate \$90,000 for their removal. You look again in eighteen hundred and forty nine, and they are quadrupled. Do nothing still, and that quadruple quadrupled will be the inheritance of your children. Speak quick, or the evil may be beyond control. If we are afraid to look it in the face and meet it now, it will tread with iron heel on the necks of our children.

Liberia, as a place of emigration for our free colored people, demands special notice in connection with the subject in hand.

The first purchase of land from the native chiefs for the Colony of Liberia was made in 1822, by Dr. Ayres, on the part of the Colonization Society, and Capt. Stockton of the U. S. Navy, on the part of his government. Soon after, in the same year, Cape Mesurado, comprising the present site of Monrovia, was occupied by our emigrants. This was the practical commencement of the project, first recommended by Mr. Jefferson to the legislature of Virginia, and afterwards approved by the legislature in their recorded acts of 1800, and again in 1816, and again in 1833—to which enactments you are respectfully referred.

Its commercial, agricultural and mechanical progress indicates an active and energetic population,—and the staple commodities of Coffee, Sugar-cane, Indigo, Rice, Cotton, Arrow Root, &c., all indigenous, demonstrate, by the experiments already made, that in no part of the world is agricultural labor more liberally rewarded. Its exports for the last few years have averaged nearly \$30 to the head of its entire population, while those of the United States have not exceeded \$7.

Monrovia, the principal sea port and capital of the country, has now 1,000 inhabitants, who enjoy in their houses, furniture, and tables, all the comforts, elegancies, and even luxuries of life, common to a settlement of the same size in this or any other country.

As a religious community, Liberia is unsurpassed. By reliable statistics, we learn that about one-third of its entire emigrant population are members of the Christian Church, honoring their profession by their lives. Twenty-five church edifices, all convenient, and some costly, of stone, brick, and wood, employ the services of forty preachers, several of them pastors well supported and wholly devoted to their work, all regularly inducted into the sacred office, and some of them not only intelligent but learned and eloquent.

Their School system is, to say the least, much better than ours. Provision is made by law for free schools throughout the Commonwealth. A liberal appropriation of the public lands is made, and a capitation tax imposed for this purpose. And more

than this, every man is required under a penalty, *to send his children to school and educate them.* They have two high schools, a Lyceum, two newspapers, and are providing for a University.

The native tribes are cultivating a friendly intercourse and doing homage to this new nation in Africa. Disputes, formerly conducted by bloody wars, and thus by sale of captives taken on both sides, furnishing victims to the slave trade, are now settled by reference to the government of Liberia. Missionaries and school teachers are eagerly sought by the barbarous interior tribes, who seek by these means, to become "*merica men."*" It is now probable that Liberia—as fast as her emigrant population will enable her to take possession and enforce her laws—may reclaim from barbarism, the entire western coast from Sierra Leone to the Cape colony, closing all access to the piratical slaver, and diffusing civilization and the christian religion through this whole border country. From this rim of light central Africa will be illuminated, its darkness, intellectual and moral, expelled, its fertile lands reclaimed from sterility, its physical resources regenerated, and Africa—whence civilization and the arts passed into Greece more than three thousand years ago, through Rome to England and thence to America—Africa the land once fruitful of heroes and scholars and christians, of Hannibal, Hanno, Jugurtha, Terence, Origen, Tertullian, Augustine, and Cyprian—of a race that wrought the pyramids, chiselled the proudest monuments of marble, and left in her tombs the evidence that she has done all for the material body but to give it eternal life—*this Africa* will be again raised to her place among civilized nations, received to the circle of the human family, and for the civilization she has, centuries ago, imparted to others—repaid by *civilization* and *CHRISTIANITY*, too.

The object of the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY is to provide for the removal to Liberia of the free colored population of the United States. All, except the abolitionists, agree in the opinion that the object is good—good in relation to those who go, and to us whom they leave—to the black man and the white man—to both continents—to Africa and to America. In no subject perhaps is there a greater unanimity of opinion. Yet the work goes on slowly. With a nation's approval, it fails to secure a nation's energies. Much is done; but not enough. On no subject probably is *your constituency* more united, and the apathy that has so long prevailed is rapidly giving place to deep feeling, conviction, action. You can hardly now go before public sentiment in bringing legislative action to bear on the great and benevolent objects of the Colonization Society. Every view of it is awakening. Take it, if you please, as a *national* measure, and as such, consider it in one aspect only—in its influence on the slave trade. By the Ashburton treaty our government is pledged to keep a naval force of 80 guns on the African coast to suppress this inhuman traffic. It cannot be doubted that, if the United States would settle their 500,000 free negroes on the African coast, lining its exposed ocean border from Liberia to the Cape Colony, through 30° of latitude, it might effect on the whole coast, what Liberia, with her five or six thousand people have done through all her territory—the entire extinction of the slave trade. But the transportation and settlement on purchased land, of this half million at the maximum, would cost only \$30,000,000, a capitation tax of not more than a dollar and a half on our entire population. Can we hope to make a better speculation in the next half century than that would be? Might not our mountains of gold in California be well exchanged for such expurgation?

England alone is estimated to have expended more than twice that sum in an almost fruitless attempt to suppress the slave trade, and for many years, France and the United States have co-operated with England in maintaining a large naval force on the African coast. How easily, then, could these combined powers accomplish through colonization what they have fruitlessly attempted by other means? The work belongs properly to *the world*. Shall nations combine to preserve a "balance of power" to prevent oppression, and shall they not co-operate to give political birth to a nation, to redeem a continent?

The whole amount heretofore expended by the American Colonization Society in the purchase of land, sending out emigrants and maintaining the government of Liberia; in prosecuting this experiment, now triumphantly completed, falls short of a million of dollars. Take then an amount equal to that expended by the three great maritime powers, England, France and the United States, and expend it in a judicious and extended plan of Colonization in a co-operation with this Society; and all that has been done for Liberia and her neighboring tribes, might be done for Africa, with its

hundred millions of people. England begins to see this, and Lord Palmerston has spoken of placing at the disposal of President Roberts, \$10,000—a sum which would hardly maintain one of her armed ships of the smallest class for one year; and the President on the part of Liberia, has engaged, for that sum, to purchase and defend forever against the slave trade, the whole line of coast from Cape Mount to Sierra Leone, a distance of 200 miles.

Let the christian world, then, come to this work and it will be done—done with a great saving of expense now uselessly employed—and it will be done at once. The world can supply the means and the Colonization Society can furnish the plan and execute it.

Let England alone apply her expenditures in this way and the work is done. The simple interest for one year on the whole sum she has already expended would bring a revenue greater than all which Liberia and her incalculable benefits to Africa have yet cost.

Let the government of the United States apply its expenditures through this channel and they will be made available to their objects twenty fold.

Let Virginia consult her true interest in the expenditures for her free colored people, and see how much richer she may be. In the first place, she will be doing much in the great work of benevolence. She will add to the free coast population of Africa, 60,000 people. Worthless, and more than worthless here, we may yet suppose that, under the new motives of their new position, they would rise to what others of their race have done in similar circumstances, to the character of industrious and useful citizens. They will constitute a strong and efficient guard to defend the coast where they are colonized, against the approach of the slavers, and exert an influence to civilize and christianize the interior tribes. Simultaneously with the benefits extended, Virginia will receive four-fold into her own bosom. She will be rid of her entire free colored population and all its present and apprehended dangers, with a provision that the evil shall not again accrue. She will be rid of two-fifths of the crime now punished under her statutes, with all the expense attending the loss of property to individuals in the acts of crime itself, and in the prosecution of the offenders, in their maintenance in the Penitentiary, and in their bad influence on others, especially on the slave population.

Is not this, then, a work that CAN be done—that OUGHT to be done—and DONE NOW?

Extracts from the 33d Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, Jan. 15, 1850, shewing the prosperity of the Republic up to the latest advices, and the want of more population.

The spirit of emigration has been gradually increasing. Favoring gales have safely wafted the Society's vessels, freighted with expectant freemen, to their new homes on the shores of Africa. From their newly erected houses and their humble abodes, they have sent back such a voice of contentment, and such good news of the land, that many of their kindred and acquaintances are preparing to follow them. The Republic of Liberia, though young as to years and small as to numbers, has displayed much of the wisdom of riper age, and the strength of vigorous manhood. Peace and prosperity have been in all her borders. The monster vices peculiar to that coast have felt, and withered under, the increasing influence of civilization and christianity. The native tribes have more tenderly felt the wretchedness of their barbarous condition, and been inspired with new zeal to imitate their more highly favored neighbors. Among the nations of the earth the fame of what Liberia has already done, has spread far and wide, and confidence in the stability of her institutions has been greatly augmented.

In the history of the Republic of Liberia, the past year, there is much to awaken gratitude, and give encouragement for future and enlarged operations. Several new tracts of territory have been purchased, and treaties of peace and friendship made with the surrounding tribes. The slave trade at New Cesters has been entirely broken up, and at Gallinas it has been for the present stopped, with every prospect of its final extinction. To accomplish this object, President Roberts assures us in his last dispatch,

nothing is wanting but the means of purchasing the coast lying between the northern boundary of Liberia and the southern boundary of Sierra Leone. The legacy of the late John Hoff, of Philadelphia, if we can receive it, together with the distinguished liberality of a gentleman in Cincinnati, and one in England, will very nearly, if not quite, make up the amount required.

The man-of-war, presented to the Republic by Great Britain, has proved a valuable acquisition, and rendered essential service to the commerce and welfare of Liberia. The income from duties and other sources, has been on the increase, and promises to be sufficient for all the expenses of the government. Considerable embarrassment, however, has been felt in consequence of the heavy debt, about \$6,000, incurred in fitting out the military expedition against the slave factory at New Cesters. Great credit is due to the men who planned and executed that undertaking.

The chief want of Liberia at present is an increased population of intelligent and industrious citizens, and enlarged resources for the support of schools and the execution of internal improvements. On this point, it is pleasant to know that much interest is felt both in this country and in Liberia; and that measures are in progress to render them important assistance.

In conclusion, we earnestly, affectionately, and importunately invoke the philanthropic every where to continue, and increase their generosity to our cause! We are able to show diligence on our part, in prosecuting the enterprise, and frugality in the use of all the pecuniary means placed at our disposal. The expenditure of the funds contributed by private benevolence has purchased, on a benighted coast, a territory of more than four hundred miles in extent, has chartered ships, transported to the home and continent of their fathers, 6,653 of our free people of color, who have formed, and are capable of maintaining a prosperous and independent government; has brought under the canopy of Liberian law more than 80,000 hitherto wild and untutored savages, has abolished the slave trade for several hundred miles on the coast, has founded schools, churches, and printing presses, has cleared farms and sprinkled abroad the green tints of agriculture, has established the temples of justice, transplanted our beautiful arts to a distant continent, and carried our mother tongue to where it will become the language of millions for ages to come; and above all, and by means of all, established the institutions of our holy religion in a land hitherto shrouded in the deepest heathenish darkness! LIBERIA is a Republic reared by private benevolence. It demonstrates what may be done with adequate means at command. The work is now comparatively easy. The experiment has been made. The true policy has been discovered, and all the preliminaries settled. The means and appliances are well understood. The business is reduced to such a system, that every mite now contributed can be made to achieve direct results to its utmost possible capacity. We therefore call upon all to strengthen our hands and encourage our hearts, for the work of a century yet remains to be done. Liberia needs more of our people, that she may send her influence eventually into the heart of Africa. They are anxious to go, and shall we forbid them to cherish the hope that they may one day plant their feet on the soil which once their fathers trod! The claims of humanity and the commands of the Most High summon us to redoubled zeal and activity! The time has come when the resources of the Society must be greatly enlarged, or it must falter in the work which is demanded of it. This whole nation is now called upon by the highest considerations of duty, interest and religion, to come forward and press the work to its consummation.

Extract from an Address delivered at the 33d Annual Meeting of the Colonization Society, by the Rev. Mr. GURLEY.

Mr. President, there has been great progress made by the settlers upon the African coast since the day when I first observed them; at that time, not exceeding 200 in number, having just pitched their tents on the borders of that great wilderness—having assembled for the first time, they erected a hut with a thatched roof which was dedicated to the service of God, and adopted their simple and imperfect form of civil government: under that government, during the period of the last twenty-five years, the town of Monrovia has come into existence, containing some 400 well constructed

houses, many of them were built of durable and substantial building stone, and many of the warehouses were built of the enduring rocks dug out from the foundations of that Cape: all of these were well constructed and comfortable habitations and occupied by a peaceful, law-abiding, intelligent, thriving and advancing community, whose churches give evidence of their attachment to religion, and whose manners were not exceeded by those of any community in this country or any other which it has been my privilege to visit. Sir: it was about two months that I was permitted to remain upon that coast, and every day or every other day I was accustomed to go on shore and mingle freely with the population of the various settlements of Liberia. I spent about a fortnight at Monrovia, from which I proceeded to Bassa Cove where there are very prosperous settlements near the sea, and one thriving and promising settlement upon the beautiful river of Saint John's. From this I proceeded to Sinou, which is distant about 70 miles from Bassa Cove. I there saw the emigrants recently sent to the colony, by this Society, from the State of Georgia. I would observe that a more thriving and intelligent community has not been planted upon the shores of Africa,—they have erected within the last few months some thirty or forty substantial frame houses, generally of materials brought with them from the State of Georgia. From thence I proceeded to the settlement of Cape Palmas, planted by the State of Maryland: at all these communities I enjoyed the privilege of having free intercourse with the varied classes of society. I occupied the pulpits of their churches every Sabbath while I was upon that coast. Sometimes three times each day I addressed the congregations there assembled, and more devout, more decently clad, and more attentive listeners, it was never my privilege to address in any part of the world.

Mr. President, I cannot express upon this occasion all I feel in regard to the claim of these colonists—of these citizens of our new Republic—upon the charity and support of the American People. I might speak, sir, of their varied interests, I might speak of their increasing commerce, I might speak of their opening and flourishing farms—small, it is true, but indicating a great amount of labor and full of promise in regard to the future crops of some of the most valuable productions of the earth. I might speak also of the certainty (if they possessed increased and adequate means) of their opening and cultivating large plantations of coffee and the sugar cane. Cotton and rice not to be surpassed by any existing upon the banks of the Mississippi.

I am well persuaded that the regions of Saint Paul and Saint John's rivers are not, in the fertility and the resources of the soil, equalled by that of any portion of this Union that it has been my privilege to observe.

I said, sir, I had enjoyed the opportunity of standing in the midst of the congregations—speaking to them upon the Sabbath, and meeting them in their week-day assemblies, I was particularly struck at their healthy appearance, which characterized the great mass and body of the community. I saw no signs of decay, no indications of weakness. They were a people full of life, full of activity, and full of hope.

Extracts from an Address of the Colonization Society, in Jan. 1849, on the subject of *appropriations by Congress and the State Governments.*

The American Colonization Society was organized for the purpose of making an experiment of what could be done for the elevation of the colored race. It has succeeded to an extent beyond any original expectation. With small means, with inexperience, against numerous obstacles, and surrounded by difficulties, it has colonized in Africa, with their own consent, a population who have formed and are capable of maintaining a prosperous and independent government.

The work is now comparatively easy. All the preliminaries are settled. All the plans are laid. All the means are understood. The business is reduced to a perfect system. The settlements in Liberia are capable of receiving new emigrants to any extent, and rendering them comfortable. There are many more persons anxious to emigrate than the Society has means to accommodate.

The Society has therefore, by this fact, shown what could be done if the adequate means were at command. It has demonstrated the possibility of removing the whole free population from the United States in such a manner as would greatly improve

their condition, and in many important respects ameliorate the state of society among ourselves.

The Society has expended on the work already done, nearly a million of dollars. It has to show for this, a capital stock, as it were, of very large value. It has a territory of more than 12,000 square miles under its control. It has a well organized government, with laws and institutions, and schools, and churches, and farms, and workshops, and commerce, and houses, and physicians, and a knowledge of the diseases of the country, and an influence over the natives, and a thousand other means and appliances of civilization, whose value is not to be measured by dollars and cents. It has taken not merely the above sum of money to purchase the present possessions of the Society. There have also been expended many years of hard labor, and deep thought of officers and agents of the Society, but poorly paid for by their salaries; the time and labor and zeal of all the early colonists, and the lives too of the many agents and colonists who have fallen victims to their zeal in the cause, and the unavoidable casualties incident to any new enterprise of the kind.

The Society has also a most valuable and available interest in the hearts of the American people. It possesses their confidence. They consider the scheme of colonization both desirable and practical. This is the product of more than thirty years cultivation!

In estimating therefore the present position of the enterprise, all these facilities for *future enlarged operations* must be taken into consideration.

It was never imagined that the Colonization Society would be able to accomplish all the good contemplated, by *private resources* alone. The completion of the work, the ultimate success, must depend on the patronage of the general and state governments. This was contemplated in the original formation of the Society. Hence we find in the 2d article of the constitution of the Society this clause, "the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the general government and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subjects." The Society has ever fondly hoped to obtain this patronage, and not entirely without success. The State of Maryland several years since made a liberal appropriation "to aid in colonizing such free persons from that State as wish to go, and such slaves as may hereafter become free." Tennessee also made an appropriation of \$10 a head for each one whom the Society removed from that State, for several years. Virginia also made a very large appropriation, which however was rendered unavailable to the Society by certain limitations and restrictions upon its application.

The time has now come when the resources of the Society must be very greatly enlarged, or it cannot accomplish one half of the work which it is earnestly called upon to undertake. Something therefore must now be done, compared with which all the past is as nothing.

This whole nation is now summoned by the highest consideration of duty, interest and charity, to come forward and aid in the work. A spirit should go abroad through all the land, kindling the hearts of the people, and calling upon every lover of man and of God, to bring forward his contributions to aid in accomplishing a work on which depends our nation's highest glory and Africa's redemption! Ten thousand hearts should respond to every appeal of the Society, and ten thousand hands should be stretched out with the necessary relief.

But this is not all. The time has now fully come, when the State Legislatures and the General Government should take the subject in hand and make liberal appropriations to help it forward.

There can scarcely be a doubt in any unprejudiced mind that the general and State governments have the constitutional power to appropriate money in furtherance of the objects contemplated by the Society. Every reason and argument which commends the scheme to the support of the individual citizens of this nation, commends it to the patronage of the nation itself. Every motive which induces the citizen of a State to contribute to the removal of the free people from that State, should operate upon the State itself or the government thereof. If the presence of the various tribes of Indians in our midst was a great evil, which the government was called upon to mitigate, and if a great national good was done by removing them beyond our borders: then surely is the existence of the colored race in the U. S. a great political evil, and their removal would be an immense national blessing. And if the government had power to act in the one case, has it not power to act in the other? On the other hand, if their

presence in the United States has been a political good, a social blessing to us, but not to them; then are we bound as a nation, in view of the injury we have done them, and their degradation to which we have largely contributed, to bestow on them the richest gifts and the costliest blessings which we are able. There is a moral fitness in this which commends itself to every mind. The work to be done is a great one, and is worthy of a nation like this!

Had we space here to go into the argument, we could prove conclusively that the American people are sensible of the merits of Colonization, and that an appropriation by the general government would meet the hearty concurrence of the great body of them. Let any person call to mind the fact that the Legislatures of more than half the States have passed resolutions approving of the object and operations of the Society, and recommending its general support; that the most distinguished men in every part of the Union, and in every political party, have been the advocates of the Society; that the leading ecclesiastical bodies of every denomination of Christians have expressed their approval of the Society, and urged the propriety of the general and State governments making appropriations; and that wherever you meet with any company of individuals and converse with them five minutes on the subject, you will find a majority of them in favor of the general and State governments aiding in Colonization—and he will soon be convinced that there is no enterprise on earth, which has enlisted in its favor so much of the sympathy and interest of the whole American people as the scheme of Colonization. There is no other enterprise to the advancement of which the general and State governments could devote their means, and meet with as hearty approval from as many of our citizens. And could our various legislators know the public sentiment of their constituents, there is not a doubt that they would, without delay, take action on this subject.

One thing therefore becomes manifestly and urgently the duty of the friends of Colonization in every State and part of the country during the present year, viz: to prepare and send up memorials and petitions in every form and in the strongest language, to their Senators and Representatives in Congress, and in all the State Legislatures. This ought to be begun at once, and carried on faithfully throughout all the year. Every village and hamlet ought to send up its memorial. Every church and society ought to present its prayer. Every patriot and philanthropist ought to urge his petition. Let the public sentiment in favor of the Society be organized and consolidated, and rolled in upon our legislators with such respectful urgency and power that they can no longer hesitate as to the path of both duty and interest.

Extracts from the leading article in the African Repository and Colonial Journal for May, 1850, (the official organ of the Colonization Society,) on the *establishment of the proposed line of Steamers.*

Great Scheme for carrying on Colonization.

The following *Memorial* has been presented to Congress and is now before the appropriate committee. It will excite deep interest wherever it is read, and meet with general favor. It has already received the advocacy of many of the most influential public journals, and we have the means of knowing that it is entertained with great favor by many leading men in Congress.

A correspondent of the REPUBLIC makes the following remarks upon it.

"Gentlemen:—All the friends of the colored race and of this Union must peruse with deep interest the memorial which appeared in your journal of yesterday, invoking the countenance and aid of Congress in furtherance of a plan for the suppression of the slave trade and the civilization of Africa. In my judgment, the relations which we shall sustain to the Republic of LIBERIA, and the means by which we can render that republic an inviting and eligible home to our colored population, are questions second in importance to none which can be submitted to the executive and legislative departments of the Government. A wise decision on these questions will do more than all things else to settle the difficulties which now distract the country, and will be followed

by results hardly surpassed, in widely extending beneficence, by any thing hitherto known in the history of nations.

It is hardly necessary for me to say, that JEFFERSON and MONROE, MARSHALL and MADISON, all desired and anticipated some great national movement for the establishment of our free people of color, as voluntary emigrants, on the African coast, and many of our State Legislatures have recorded their opinions in favor of this as a national policy. The time for such a movement has arrived. The Republic of Liberia stands acknowledged as an independent state. From us she has derived the elements of freedom, civilization, and religion; and she now invites the descendants of Africa, from every region of the world, to become sharers with her in the great inheritance of happiness and renown which, through God's blessings, will be her sure and enduring possession.

Those who may desire to see the growing reputation of the Liberian Republic, will find abundant evidence in the papers just published by order of the British Parliament, on the subject of the slave trade, a large portion of which are occupied by facts and documents illustrating the condition, influence, commercial importance, and philanthropic promise of this newly risen African free State. That the memorial to which I have referred is from gentlemen of the South, is, I trust, a favorable omen for its success."

We desire to call to it the special attention of our auxiliary societies. If they approve of it, and feel anxious that it should be adopted by Congress, they can facilitate it, by adopting resolutions on the subject and forwarding them to their respective Senators and Representatives. Individuals may do much good by writing to their friends in Congress. The scheme is of such magnitude and grandeur as to be worthy of the most earnest zeal to secure its adoption. [Here follows a copy of the Memorial.]

The Colonization Society undertook to found a colony, to which the colored people might find it advantageous to emigrate. This has already been done. The work has been slow in its progress, as it were piling one stone upon another, till now the foundation is laid deep and wide. The Republic is sufficiently well established to receive a large number of emigrants yearly: there is room enough for them, and every thing invites them there, and these four *steamers* afford the facilities for their reaching there. It now only remains for the United States Government to adopt, foster and encourage this work, and it will be done.

Let these steamers be started, let the U. States give that \$80,000,000 of which Mr. Webster spoke in the Senate, or let the State governments make the appropriations necessary to transport and subsist for six months their own free people of color, and the work will go forward with a magnificence worthy of itself!

The great ends to be accomplished, present considerations of sufficient importance to induce the Government to comply with the prayer of the memorial. When these steamers are started the United States squadron on that coast may be withdrawn. It now costs upward of \$384,500 to maintain that squadron a year. These four steamers and the emigrants carried out by them will annually accomplish a thousand fold more for the suppression of the slave trade, than the squadron ever has or ever can accomplish! There cannot be a doubt of this. Does the United States Government desire the suppression of the slave trade? Undoubtedly. Here then is the way in which it may be done.

We may ask another question. Is it desirable that American commerce should be extended? Undoubtedly. Here then is a way in which it may be done. The 150,000,000 inhabitants of Africa, now all naked, must be *clothed*, and will be as civilization advances among them. They must have the means and appliances of agriculture and the mechanic arts. And in return for all these, they have all the rich and varied productions of tropical climates! How shall this work be accomplished? How shall Africa be civilized? How shall a market be opened there for all the articles manufactured in the United States, and for the surplus productions of our soil? How shall the inexhaustable treasures of that immense continent be brought to supply our wants, and increase our wealth and our glory?

By Colonization—by carrying out the plans and measures which the Society has adopted and been struggling to achieve. Already more than 80,000 of the natives have put themselves under the laws of Liberia, and are rising in the scale of humanity. Already there is a large demand for the productions of this country.

When the transported population of Liberia shall be 50,000 or 200,000, they will



